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The South African People will win their freedom

Statement by the Central Commitee of the South African Communist Party

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Contents

5 **THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE WILL WIN THEIR FREEDOM!**
Central Committee, South African Communist Party

13 **EDITORIAL NOTES**
The Pledge is Binding
No Easy Walk
Algerian Events

23 **EAST AFRICAN TRENDS**
Kenya 'African Socialism' Paper
Sol Dubula

Tanzania Five Year Plans
A. Langa

46 **THE 'FISCHER' TRIAL**
Z. Nkosi

56 **AFRICA**
Notes on Current Events

61 **WALLACE-JOHNSON—A TRIBUTE**
Bankole Akpata

65 **AFRICA AND DEMOCRACY—A DISCUSSION**
Alex Chima
A. Chukuka Eke

75 **FACTS ON ANGOLA**
Angolan Study Centre

85 **BOOK REVIEWS**
Jack Cohen, Peter Mackintosh, F. Azad.

101 **DOCUMENTS**
Rally and Unite Anti-Imperialist Forces

THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE WILL WIN THEIR FREEDOM!

A Statement by the Central Committee of
the South African Communist Party

Although the key to the liberation of South Africa is in reorganization and intensification of revolutionary struggle inside the country, the freedom-loving people of South Africa deeply value and set great store on supporting solidarity actions, especially those which can cut off the Verwoerd régime from its economic and military bases in the imperialist countries.

We are keenly aware of the international implications of our struggle. South Africa is a crucial area in the world-wide struggle between the forces of imperialism and the forces of national liberation and progress. Every victory for the progressive anti-colonialist movements in Africa and the rest of the world favours and encourages the movements for resistance and revolution in South Africa; every setback for the progressive forces hampers our struggle and strengthens the fascist Verwoerd régime. In the same way, our own struggles at home are an important contribution to the victory of all peoples.

WORLD COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE

We are going through a period of a world-wide, major offensive of imperialism. Open military aggression in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and the Congo, is accompanied by intensified economic and military intervention and penetration by U.S. and other imperialists and their agents, especially in Africa and other developing areas.

The imperialist powers have reduced the United Nations to its lowest level of effectiveness and authority since its foundation twenty years ago. At this time when aggression against Vietnam poses a major threat to world peace, the U.N. has been reduced to almost total impotence. This weakening of the U.N. cannot but dampen hopes that—with the proceedings on South-West Africa reaching their climax at the World Court—more effective international action would be taken against the apartheid régime.

In the ranks of the newly-independent countries, some divisions have been brought about by the intrigues of the imperialists. Some African states are challenging the basis and the integrity of the Organization of African Unity and are even supporting the Tshombe régime. In some other African countries we may also observe rightward trends resulting from imperialist pressures, or reactionary internal groups. For example in Kenya, the assassination of the noted fighter against imperialism, Pio Pinto, has been followed by several governmental moves against the radical and progressive elements. Fighters for African unity, independence and socialism have also been seriously disturbed by the military coup in Algeria resulting in the removal of President Ben Bella.

This international imperialist offensive calls for the greatest unity and solidarity among the forces that stand for peace, socialism and national freedom—the socialist countries, the countries newly-liberated from colonialism and those still fighting for independence, and the world-wide working class and progressive movement. Regrettably such unity is still far from achievement, even in the ranks of the world Communist movement, the vanguard of the liberation front.

No doubt, all these negative developments hamper our struggle and that of all fighters against imperialism. They lead to difficulties which must be faced and overcome.

But they do not mean that the imperialists can for long succeed in stemming the African revolution and the world-wide struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism.

Nor do they mean that the past efforts of our national liberation movements to mobilize world support for our struggle have been vain or misdirected. On the contrary, international campaigns to arouse understanding and condemnation of apartheid, to press for sanctions and boycotts of all kinds, have been and continue to be of the greatest importance and value. These campaigns have made the fight against apartheid a crucial world issue, isolating and exposing the imperialists, uniting all progressive forces, and sustaining the spirit of resistance among our people.

OUR OWN STRENGTH

We must never forget, however, that as we have always said, the main factor on which we rely for the liberation of South Africa is not the sympathy and assistance of our well-wishers and brothers on the African continent and all over the world: but on the mass, revolutionary action of the South Africans themselves.

What are the present perspectives of this struggle?

Some, even among the supporters and fighters for South African freedom have become pessimistic, even defeatist, on this question. We should consider the basis of such tendencies.

Undoubtedly the liberation movement has suffered some serious reverses and disappointments. To some extent these arose out of errors of underestimation of the enemy; to some extent from objective developments in South Africa and abroad. We have confidence in our people and our cause; it is unthinkable that white domination can survive for many years in this era of the African revolution and the world upsurge against colonialism. This revolutionary optimism is historically justified; it is this that gives the people's forces the will to rally from reverses and go on fighting until victory. But over-confidence and optimism based on illusions do not help us; they can only cause disappointments which can, in some cases, lead to demoralization and despair. It is therefore important at this stage to make a realistic and sober assessment of the situation, so that we can methodically rebuild our forces and prepare for the new round of hard struggles ahead.

PESSIMISTIC ASSESSMENTS

Those who are pessimistic about the prospects of our struggle point to:

the 'flourishing' condition of the South African economy;

the thoroughgoing security machinery of the régime, militarization, armaments purchases and manufacture, etc.,

strong fascist tendencies among the white population, students, workers and others, reflected in more support for the National Party by English-speaking voters, the continuing rightward swing of the U.P., and other developments,

the apparent failure or slowness of the liberation movement to find ways of demonstrating and counter-attacking, or even reaching the masses with propaganda, in the prevailing conditions of fascist repression, loss of leading personnel, and other difficulties.

These are real factors which cannot be overlooked in a current assessment of the present South African situation. They are emphasized by the government which continuously makes propaganda claiming that the structure of the country is stable, peaceful and prosperous. But such claims are based merely on temporary features of the position in the country. They do not alter the radical contradictions and imbalances in the structure of white supremacy; the fundamental instability and insecurity of a régime which depends on more and more militaristic and dictatorial methods to keep power.

FLOURISHING ECONOMY?

Those who speak glibly of 'boom' conditions in the country fail to see the significance of the contradiction between talk of a flourishing economy, on the one hand, and of the recurrent famines which have again swept Transkei and Transvaal areas, with the efforts of charitable organizations desperately trying to avert mass starvation, on the other.

Restrictions on the export of capital, influx of foreign capital, eager to take advantage of the high profit rates prevailing in the Republic, and expanded arms production have indeed led to high employment rates and increased wages for whites. But this has also led to an acute shortage of white labour for skilled jobs; attempts by employers in the mines and elsewhere —even by the state on the S.A.R. and the postal services—to modify the rigid colour bars to meet this problem are meeting with bitter resistance from white workers determined to preserve their racial monopoly of highly-paid skilled jobs.

Inflationary tendencies are steadily forcing up prices of consumer goods. But non-white workers, especially Africans, with all industrial action illegal and their trade unions virtually forced underground by repression, cannot secure wage-increases in any way commensurate with the rise in prices. So the 'wave of prosperity' in South Africa in fact serves to increase the gap between white and non-white wage-earners, and to impose fresh hardships on the Africans.

MORE FASCIST LAWS

Vorster's boast that his police have smashed the liberation movements is belied by his demanding, and obtaining, yet further fascist laws from Parliament, especially the replacing of the universally-condemned ninety-day clause with the almost identical new '180-day' clause. Instead of calling a political detainee a person suspected of having information, they now insult him by calling him a state witness; the object of the detention is to try to force him to become exactly that, by torture, solitary confinement and every other means the police have learnt from the 'ninety-day' detentions.

If the government really believed, as they keep saying, that the revolutionary movements have all been crushed, that the non-whites now accept apartheid, that peace and security reign in the country, they would have no need to keep bringing in still more drastic laws to quell resistance, and allocating further huge amounts for 'security and defence'. They are fully aware that the spirit of the people, the spirit of resistance, is by no means crushed.

FIGHTING BACK

The Rivonia trial, the Fischer trial and many other trials, big and small, of the past year have seen many of the finest leaders of the resistance movement sentenced to long years of brutal imprisonment. Some even, like Mini, Mkaba, Khayinga, Bongco, Saloojee and Looksmart Solwandle, were sent to their death. No doubt, these were heavy losses, causes for grief and anger among the people. But our leaders have not suffered a political defeat. Apart from a few miserable traitors, the Beylevelds and the Mtolos, who sold their comrades to save their own skins, our leaders conducted themselves with courage and defiance. They have given the people cause to be proud of them, cause for confidence in the Congress movement and the Communist Party.

The very conditions of life of the people, the hardships and degradation of the colonialist society, inevitably arouse the revolutionary determination and resistance of the people. In spite of the loss of thousands of their most experienced leaders, in spite of the prevailing fascist terror, recent events show that the people and the liberation forces have the will and the ability to fight back. Though they may not have been on the scale of similar events in past years, the recent Steeldale bus boycott, the holding of a public conference by SACTU, and the issuing of a June 26th leaflet by the liberation movement represent truly heroic efforts in Vorster's present-day police state. It is significant too that official figures of political detentions in the Transkei show a steady rise.

There is no doubt that in the end, however long it may take and in spite of all the wealth, the armaments and barbarous repressions of the white minority dictatorship, the will and the patriotic spirit of the majority will prevail.

ALL MEANS OF STRUGGLE

It is no secret that, as the Rivonia trial revealed, the liberation movements abandoned the reliance on exclusively non-violent means of struggle which served their role in the past, and were actively preparing for the armed overthrow of the white supremacy state.

The correctness and feasibility of this general policy decision were not and are not dependent on the success or failure of any particular scheme or operation. Looked at in broad perspective it remains true that the freedom of our country will have to be wrested in armed struggle; and that preparation for such struggle is essential to victory.

It would therefore be an error to harbour illusions that non-violent means of struggle alone will suffice. But it would also be an error to reason that because of this, or because the innumerable laws and police measures of the state have made mass activities of any kind so difficult and hazardous, we should therefore abandon all efforts at propaganda and organization, at mobilizing the masses of workers, peasants, youth, women and other sections to take mass action for their immediate demands. Indeed, it should rather be said that without constant efforts to arouse the resistance and patriotic spirit of the people activities of a purely military character will become isolated from the people and bound therefore to fail. The real advantage of the liberation forces over all the planes, armoured cars and other superior equipment of the enemy, is the support of the masses. That is our decisive weapon, without which we cannot win.

It follows that the liberation organizations of South Africa must find the organizational and political resources to rally from the severe blows they have suffered, draw all the necessary lessons from past setbacks, and reorganize their forces to become stronger and more effective than ever before.

NEW ORGANIZATIONAL METHODS

To do this, new organizational methods are required. With the struggle itself approaching a new peak of intensity, with the government employing all-out Nazi methods to terrorize the liberation movement, destroy its personnel physically and psychologically, infiltrate its organization with agents and spies, it is clear that new approaches are needed, and that there is no room for amateurish security and reliance on personnel who are sitting targets for surveillance, arrest and torture.

This does not mean that the organizations which have developed historically and proved the most suitable for conditions in our country are no longer of value. On the contrary, these organizations which have earned the trust and confidence of the people are all essential now as never before; it is of the greatest importance that they should be rebuilt and grow stronger than ever.

South Africa needs the African National Congress and its partners in the tested Congress alliance, the Indian and Coloured People's Congresses and the Congress of Democrats. The workers need the Congress of Trade Unions, the only principled, non-racial trade union federation. The country needs the Communist Party. It needs the fighting organization, Umkonto we Sizwe. It needs the liberationist movements of women and of youth. And present-day conditions demand that all these militant organizations of liberation should be re-established more firmly than ever before; that they should renew their vital roots among the masses; that they should work in the closest harmony and unity of purpose with one another, and in co-operation with all organizations and sections of the people who are sincerely determined to end the curse of apartheid.

All our liberation organizations have proved that their members have the qualities necessary for victory: courage, determination and readiness for any sacrifice. But to survive and grow stronger in today's tough conditions they will have to devise new skills. Personnel should be preserved from useless casualties and sacrifices. Those who are unable or unwilling to adapt themselves to the new and taxing demands and conditions should be restricted to activities in which they cannot endanger others. From the best elements among the working people of town and country and the patriotic youth, new people must be recruited, trained and drawn into the movement.

WORK TO BE DONE

We must get down to these tasks now, seriously, thoughtfully and methodically, and fight hard against all tendencies to defeatism and pessimism in our ranks or among the people. We must maintain and build stronger than ever before the unity of the progressive movement in our country, especially the solidarity of the Congress alliance and the Communist Party, upon which the future depends. We must do everything in our power to strengthen and extend the international movement for solidarity with our people in the struggle against apartheid, and for the exposure and curbing of those imperialist forces abroad who profit from and who sustain white supremacy in southern Africa.

We call on all South African Communists, whether at home or in exile, to give practical leadership in the fulfilment of these taks by setting an example of devotion, seriousness of purpose and confidence in the people's victory.

We call on all upholders of South African freedom everywhere to redouble their efforts to hasten the overthrow of the Nazi, racist Verwoerd dictatorship.

We warmly greet the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa striving for freedom in our own country and in our lifetime. Courage, brothers and sisters: the struggle is hard, but we, the people, shall win. The blood and sacrifices of our heroes, Mini, Mandela, Sisulu, Goldberg, Kathrada, Fischer and thousands of others shall not be for nothing! Africa shall come back!

Down with apartheid!

Amandla Ngawethu!

Victory shall be ours!

Editorial Notes:

The Pledge is Binding

> *Let all who love their people and their country now say as we say here:*
>
> *'THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY'.*
>
> —The Freedom Charter, June 26th, 1955

TEN STORMY YEARS have gone past since the greatest representative gathering ever held in South Africa, the Congress of the People, adopted the immortal document that began: 'We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know . . .'

That document was the Freedom Charter.

It proclaimed that our country, South Africa, belongs to the people who live in it, regardless of colour or national origin. And it claimed for all the people the rights to govern; to take part in making and administering the laws; to enjoy equal national rights; to share in the country's wealth; the equal rights of all to housing and security, education and opportunity; of the peasants to land; of the workers to skills, protection of conditions and trade unions. It pledged the free South Africa of the future to the cause of African independence and unity, and to peace and friendship of all peoples.

This was no 'election manifesto', ambiguously worded to entrap the mindless 'floating voter' and to be evaded and forgotten the moment the successful group of politicians gains office. It was not an academic exercise, a 'declaration of human rights' drawn up in a secluded study, far from the battlefield of life where rights are lost and won. Nor was it a lure, designed—in the repulsive language of the admen and the 'public relations' officers—to 'project an image'. It was the voice of the people in a most literal sense that can hardly have been equalled in history.

The Freedom Charter is a unique document, for it literally had tens of thousands of authors. From thousands of meetings in cities and villages and rural areas, in factories, shops, mine compounds and even in jails, written demands and proposals came in, to be compiled and distilled by the representatives of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the Coloured People's Congress which placed them before the delegates. As Helen Joseph so well put it:

> . . . every clause of the Charter . . . had been born out of their hopes and their heartaches, out of their poverty and the denial to them of fundamental human rights. Every clause of the Charter mirrored the conditions in which the non-White people live in South Africa.—*If This be Treason.*

It would not be true to say that before the adoption of the Charter the South African people and their liberation organizations did not know what they were fighting for. They had always had their demands and aspirations, and these had been expressed in countless mass actions, documents, programmes, manifestoes put forward by the African National Congress, the Communist Party and all the other progressive and democratic organizations of the various sections of the South African population.

But the Charter did what had never been done before. It assembled in simple, striking and straightforward words, the basic elementary demands which were common to all who cherish the aspiration for a free South Africa. It defined what all meant and understood by freedom. It provided a programme for the entire South African democracy. And it struck at the heart of the abominable racial tyranny which has developed in South Africa over the past three hundred years of domination and oppression, carried to its logical and hateful conclusion by the theory and practice of apartheid of Verwoerd's neo-Nazi National Party.

The Freedom Charter is a revolutionary document. Though its language is restrained and its objects, judged in terms of the rest of the world and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, seem not to be extravagant, in the context of South African realities it is dynamite. To carry these objects into realization would mean the dismantling of the entire state, the economic and legal structure that has developed over centuries of robbery and oppression, and the building of an entirely new society.

That is precisely why the apartheid state of white domination immediately recognized the Charter as a dangerous document, labelled it as High Treason, and dragged the foremost upholders of the Charter through the four long years of prosecution in an attempt to prove legally that it was treason. And, though they failed in that objective, they have never ceased in the years that followed to hound and persecute all who uphold the Charter.

But South Africa is also a country that stands, perhaps above all others, in need of revolution. The whole socio-economic structure has been erected on the rotten foundation of race discrimination; there is no use trying to patch or improve such a structure. It must come down, to be replaced by a new structure based on sound and healthy foundations.

That is why the South African revolution is demanded and longed for by the oppressed and enslaved peoples just as much as it is feared and hated by their oppressors, and why all the people and their liberation organizations welcomed and approved of the Charter.

In Easter 1956, after thorough discussion by all members in their branches, a national Conference of the African National Congress adopted the Freedom Charter by an overwhelming majority.

The Charter was endorsed by the S.A. Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats, which wrote it into its Constitution. It was approved unanimously at a national conference of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the only non-racial and anti-colour-bar trade union organization in the country.

The Programme of the South African Communist Party states:

> The main aims and lines of the South African democratic revolution have been defined in the Freedom Charter, which has been endorsed by the African National Congress and the other partners in the national liberation alliance. The Freedom Charter is not a programme for socialism. It is a common programme for a free, democratic South Africa, agreed on by socialists and non-socialists. At the same time, in order to guarantee the

> abolition of racial oppression and White minority domination, the Freedom Charter necessarily and realistically calls for profound economic changes: drastic agrarian reform to restore the land to the people; widespread nationalization of key industries to break the grip of White monopoly capital on the main centres of the country's economy; radical improvements in the conditions and standards of living for the working people. The Communist Party pledges its unqualified support for the Freedom Charter. It considers that the achievement of its aims will answer the pressing and immediate needs of the people and lay the indispensable basis for the advance of our country along non-capitalist lines to a communist and socialist future. To win these aims is the immediate task of all the oppressed and democratic people of South Africa, headed by the working class and its party, the Communist Party. *The Road to South African Freedom.*

Those Who Have Kept Faith

The Freedom Charter is more than a blueprint or a programme. It is also a pledge. The preamble reads:

> . . . we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

Every member of every organization which adopted the Charter, and everyone who accepts it as his own, is bound by that pledge. We are bound to 'spare neither strength nor courage', to endure whatever sacrifices are demanded of us, even our very lives, if we are truly dedicated soldiers for the Charter. As the statement of the Communist Party, published in this issue so forcefully reminds us, South African freedom can only be won by struggle and blood, on the soil of the motherland; and without truly dedicated soldiers the struggle cannot be won.

Thousands of those pledged to the Charter have proved by deeds as well as words that they meant what they said. Some have paid the supreme sacrifice and hallowed the oath that was taken at Kliptown with their blood. When we recall Petrus Molefi, Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle, Suliman 'Babla' Saloojee, Vuyisile Mini, Zinakhele Mkaba, Wilson Khayinga and Washington Bongco, we cannot but renew the pledge and our resolve that their lives shall be avenged and vindicated, that in the great words of Lincoln's Gettysburg address:

> from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to the cause to which they gave their last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg . . . we could, without difficulty, go on to fill our pages with a scroll of honour of brave men and women who have undergone brutal tortures at the hands of the sadistic gorillas of the Special Branch and been condemned to endless years of ill-treatment prescribed for political prisoners in South Africa. These are they who have kept faith with the Charter, and whose names and ideals are ever in the hearts of the people. Nor have the people forgotten those like Chief Lutuli, Helen Joseph, Alex La Guma and Dennis Brutus, the hundreds of Congressmen and women, trade unionists and Communists who have been house-arrested and restricted and gagged. Or those like Bram Fischer, hunted and forced to live underground, or those who have been sent into exile to carry on the struggle, or the countless thousands who still carry on the struggle in South Africa, under a rule of terror; working men and women, intellectuals, students and youth, who keep alive in every way they can the spirit of the Congress movement and the Freedom Charter.

All form the battalions of a great army for the Charter, an army that is close to and merges with the people, some of whose members may be captured, tortured and even killed, but whose spirit and unity, battle-forged and steeled, can never be broken.

They are the guarantee, that though it may be a long, hard and costly road, the people will overcome and freedom shall prevail.

No Easy Walk to Freedom

IT IS FITTING that the tenth anniversary of the Freedom Charter should see the publication, in London, of a collection of articles, speeches and writings by Nelson Mandela, hero of the militant youth and Accused No. 1 in the Rivonia Trial. *No Easy Walk to Freedom**, ably edited and annotated by Ruth First, spans a period of ten years in the development of a great African leader, and it should be read and studied by everyone who is interested in the past, present and future of our people and their struggles.

Throughout and consistently, Mandela's is the voice of an ardent African patriot, passionately indignant at the sufferings, injustices and humiliations heaped upon his people, arousing them to action. The time is past for 'long speeches, the shaking of fists, the banging of tables'. Always we find stressed the need for practical work, effective action; always, too, the call to arouse the masses, so people will 'never surrender to the inhuman and barbarous theories of Verwoerd'.

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* Heinemann, 21s. (Paperback, 10s. 6d.)

But from the earliest sections of this book (1953) it is already clear that Nelson Mandela has already developed far beyond the horizons of a narrow nationalism or parochialism, obsessed only with the sufferings of his own people, and unmindful of the world background of our struggles, and the fact that just as we seek the solidarity of others, so we too must show our solidarity with others who struggle and sacrifice. In his 1953 presidential address to the Transvaal A.N.C., he reminded the delgates that Congressmen had been victimized because:

> . . . we uncompromisingly resisted the efforts of imperialist America and her satellites to drag the world into the rule of violence and force, into the rule of the napalm, hydrogen and cobalt bombs, where millions of people will be wiped out to satisfy the criminal and ambitious appetites of the imperialist powers . . . we emphatically and openly condemned the criminal attacks by the imperialists against the people of Malaya, Vietnam, Indonesia, Tunisia and Tanganyika and called upon our people to identify themselves with the cause of world peace and to fight against the war policies of America and her satellites . . .
>
> . . . we fearlessly voiced our horror and indignation at the slaughter of the people of Korea and Kenya . . . and voiced our solidarity with the cause of the Kenya people.

'Dangers and difficulties,' he told his fellow A.N.C. members, 'have not deterred us in the past; they will not frighten us now. But we must be prepared for them like men who mean business and who do not waste energy in vain talk and idle action.' How well those words sum up the approach and character of Mandela himself! Again and again in the course of this volume we find Mandela at the heart of action; defending himself and his fellow-accused in the treason trial; leading from underground the campaign for the three-day general strike against Verwoerd's phoney 'Whites only' republic and for an all-in National Convention, a new constituent assembly; calling ceaselessly for organization and militant action.

Nelson Mandela left his home and went underground after the All-In African Conference at Maritzburg in March 1961, in which he had been the leading figure. His very action in going underground was symbolic of the new mood among the people; the break with past methods in which all the emphasis had been on non-violent struggle and leaders waited for the police to come and arrest them, relying on legal defences and courtroom procedures. As the struggle grew fiercer, indeed one might say, as victory seemed less remote for the forces of liberation, the government destroyed all legality and all prospects for peaceful change.

The next time Mandela appeared in Court was in October 1962. He had been living underground for eighteen months, in the course of which he had toured Africa and Britain, seeing top state and political leaders to plead the cause of South African freedom, and returning to continue the struggle for liberation which had by then entered a new phase. Umkonto we Sizwe had been formed—Mandela helped to found it—and had resolved to meet state violence with violence, embarking on a planned preliminary campaign of sabotage of state installations and carrying out methodical preparations to train leaders and personnel against the coming period of armed conflict towards which the policy of the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship was inevitably leading.

When at last the police succeeded in capturing him and hauling him before court, in October 1962, they found a very different Mandela from the suave and polished lawyer who had so ably defended the treason trial accused. He ignored technicalities and challenged the right of the Court to try him at all. 'I am neither legally nor morally bound to obey laws made by a Parliament in which I have no representation,' he said. Nor could he expect a fair trial, on such a charge, from a court presided over by a judge who, as a White man, was an interested party. 'What sort of justice is this which enables the aggrieved to sit in judgment over those against those against whom they have laid a charge?'

> The White man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts and accuses us, and he sits in judgment over us.

Found 'guilty' after a stirring court battle, of leading the three-day strike and leaving the country illegally, Mandela refused to apologize for or excuse his actions. 'If I had my time over I would do the same again; so would any man who dares call himself a man.'

Rivonia

He was sentenced to five years; but six months later came the tragic police raid at Rivonia and the capture of Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Kathrada, Goldberg, Bernstein and other leaders of the liberation movement. Documentary and other evidence discovered at Rivonia showed that insurrection was being considered and Mandela involved, so once more he found himself before a White man's court.

Mandela's great speech before Court in this famous trial, which ended in life sentences for nearly all those accused, is the concluding chapter in this volume. It is, without doubt, one of the great documents of the African Revolution, indeed of the entire age-long struggle for human emancipation.

What strikes one again and again, reading this chronological series, is the way in which Mandela shows himself constantly developing with the struggle, learning, deepening and broadening his outlook. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his changing attitude towards the Communist Party and the role of Communists in the national liberation movement. At first, as an A.N.C. Youth Leaguer, he tended to adopt the unthinking 'Communism-is-a-foreign-ideology' approach common to the young nationalists of the forties; he even at one time proposed the exclusion of Communists from the A.N.C. But his essential honesty of purpose and clarity of mind forced him, as time went on, to recognize the destructive nature of anti-Communism in relation to the national liberation movement, and the invaluable contribution of the S.A.C.P. and individual Communists to the freedom struggle. In his fighting 'Rivonia trial' speech he vigorously and eloquently defended and explained the policy of unity of Communists and non-Communists in the liberation fight, in words which have relevance far beyond South Africa and can profitably be studied wherever people fight for their national freedom. He spoke of the public support of the Communist Party for Umkonto we Sizwe, the active role played by Communists in South Africa and all over the world in the fight by colonial peoples for their freedom, the consistent support by the communist-led countries at the U.N. and other Councils of the world for the anti-apartheid cause. 'In these circumstances, it would take a brash young politician such as I was in 1949, to proclaim that the Communists are our enemies.'

The publication of *No Easy Walk to Freedom* is a notable event. It will help readers in the outside world to understand what sort of people we South African fighters for liberation are, and to comprehend the staggering gulf that divides our movement, the profundity, wisdom, modesty and integrity of our leaders and spokesmen, from the intellectually poverty-stricken, cowardly and selfish outlook of Verwoerd and other fascist-minded upholders of apartheid. And it will help South Africans who manage to obtain this book (for it is, of course, banned in our country) to renew their faith in and dedication to our lofty cause.

The Algerian Events

IT WAS WITH DISMAY that African patriots all over our Continent learnt of the events in Algeria. It was not only the replacement of Ben Bella by Colonel Boumedienne—although we have always known Brother Ben Bella as a true African patriot and socialist, and in particular as a staunch friend of our people in their hard fight against apartheid. But the choice of leadership in Algeria is after all a matter for the Algerian people themselves. It was above all the manner in which the change was made, by way of a military coup, accompanied, it is reported, by widespread arrests of F.L.N. left-wing freedom fighters, and by-passing even the appearance of democratic procedures in the state and the Party, that has perturbed progressive opinion in Africa and throughout the world.

The immediate consequences of the coup were the unfortunate postponement of the Second Afro-Asian Conference due to begin in Algiers on June 29th and of the World Youth Festival also about to take place in that city. It is difficult to obtain a clear picture of what is actually happening inside the country. *Alger Republicain*, the militant F.L.N. daily, has suspended publication—our readers will recall the brilliant article in our last issue on the revolutionary significance of the Algiers Charter by Henri Alleg who was a prominent member of the editorial staff of this fine newspaper.

L'Humanite published in Paris, on June 25th, an appeal from members of the F.L.N. denouncing the coup as a plot designed by the Algerian bourgeoisie to break the socialist revolution, demanding the release of President Ben Bella and other arrested leaders and a return to revolutionary legality and the Charter of Algiers.

Fidel Castro publicly denounced the coup. Warmly praising Ben Bella, he said that Bouteflika, Algerian Foreign Minister, was certainly 'the intellectual behind this military coup'. 'We do not have any doubt that he is not a revolutionary; he is a rightist man. He is the enemy of socialism.'

Ali Yata, writing in *Al Kifah Al Watani* (Morocco) on June 25th expressed similar misgivings, especially concerning widespread arrests among supporters of scientific socialism. Referring to reports of arrests of two-thirds of the Central Committee of the F.L.N., of members of the Executive of the National Union of Students, the President of the F.L.N. Youth and a number of journalists, he asks 'Why was it necessary to resort to violence against brothers known for their patriotism, their integrity, their courage and clarity of thought?'

At the same time, Comrade Ali Yata points out:

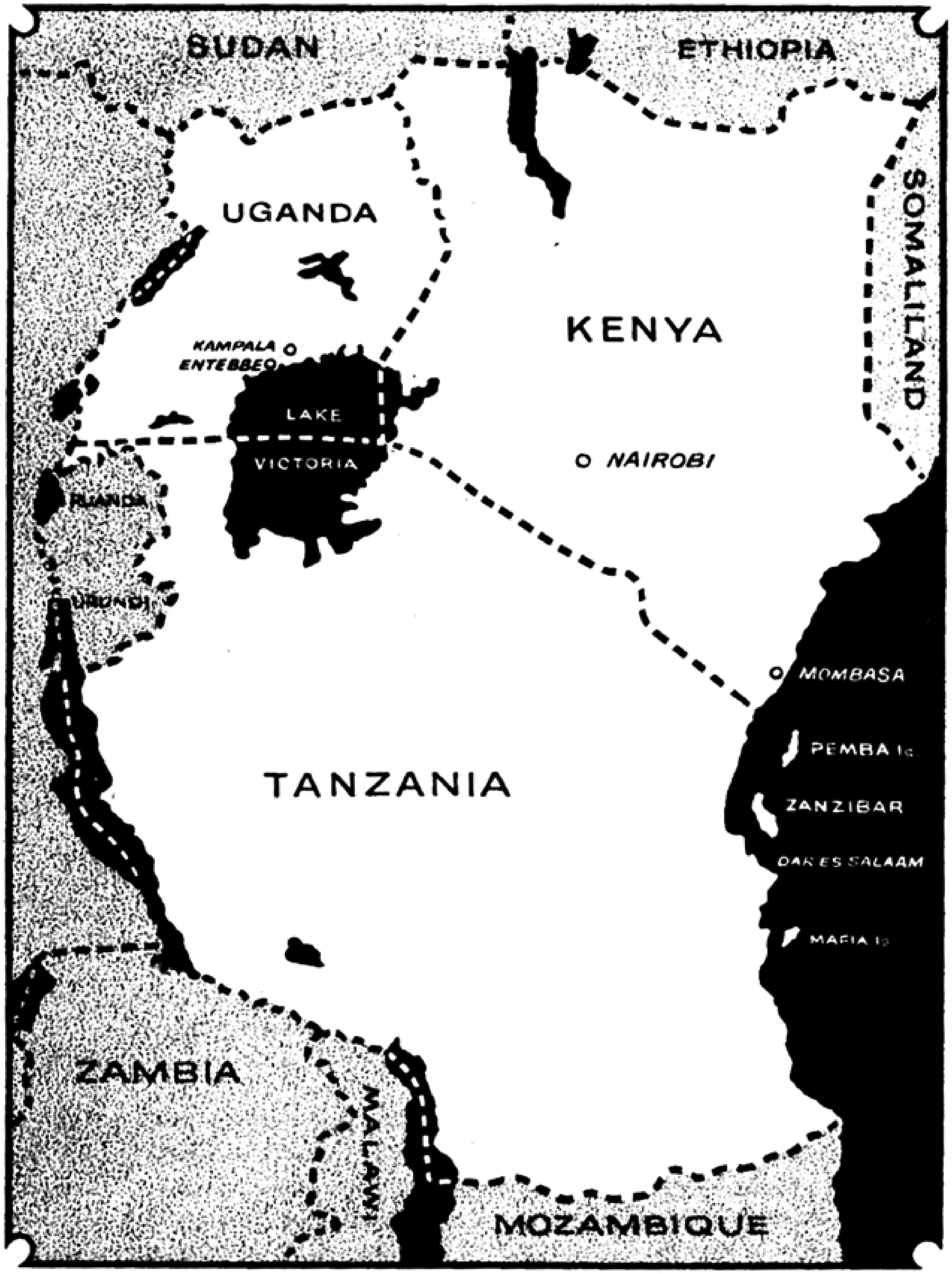
'We may not permit ourselves to intervene in Algerian affairs. We respect Algerian sovereignty, and are convinced that the Algerian people are sufficiently experienced and conscious to be capable of successfully solving their own problems . . . They do not need advice or mediators from outside.'

Colonel Boumedienne has now announced the formation of a Cabinet composed mainly of civilians, most of whom also held office under Ben Bella. He has also announced a continuance of progressive internal policies, coupled with an independent foreign policy based on friendship with Maghreb, African and socialist countries.

It is much to be hoped that this will now be followed by the release of Brother Ben Bella and other patriots from imprisonment, and a restoration of revolutionary legality and the principles of democratic centralism in the state and the Party.

We are confident that the heroic people of Algeria, who fought for seven long years for their independence from French imperialism in a war of liberation which cost the lives of a million patriots, will never permit reaction and neo-colonialism to make a come-back. Algeria has been a beacon of inspiration to the whole Continent of Africa in the related tasks of building all-African unity against imperialism and of pioneering the non-capitalist road towards a socialist Africa. We are sure that once again, in the future, Algeria will triumph over her difficulties and take up the honoured role of a pioneer of the New Africa.

East African Trends KENYA 1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A SOCIALIST LABEL FOR BOURGEOIS THINKING

Sol Dubula

A critical examination of the Kenya sessional paper on 'African Socialism'.

ALMOST EVERY INDEPENDENT African state has, in one form or another, declared itself officially to be aiming at socialism. Such an attitude is understandable, in the light of the demonstrable superiority of socialist over capitalist methods in the task of overcoming the legacy of centuries of colonialist oppression and to build a society free from exploitation. This apparent unanimity should not, however, blind us to very wide differences of interpretation as to what 'socialism' actually is. The long years of imperialist domination, repression and censorship have inhibited in most African countries the development of a seasoned working class movement with experience of the theory and practice of socialism. Unfortunately the social-democratic movements in the imperialist countries have to some extent succeeded in imposing on the young labour movements in many former colonies, their false conceptions of socialism which have never worked in their own countries.

One must welcome the proclamation of socialism as the official aim of the Government of Kenya, but much of the weakness of that Government's sessional paper *African Socialism and its Application of Planning to Kenya* stems from an incorrect characterization of western capitalism, and appears to have been influenced by many of the false theories of the British brand of social-democracy: the Labour Party. It is not difficult to deduce, in the preparation of this document, the influence of Minister Tom Mboya, who admitted:

> When I talk of Socialist attitudes, those of us who have grown up under the intellectual climate of the Western world will no doubt be thinking of Socialism of the Western type. (*Transition,* March 1963.)

We know that 'socialism of the western type' has its origin in a labour movement which was prevailed upon to betray its historic role precisely because of its share in the spoils of colonial countries, including Kenya. It is 'socialism' of the same type which today is still continuing to hold back independence for many millions and which is a willing partner with its own capitalist class and that of the United States in the enslavement of millions of other people in South Africa, Vietnam, Dominican Republic and many other places. Those of us in Africa who have grown up under its intellectual climate must more than others question the premises of a 'socialism' which whenever it gained power demonstrated that it was subordinated to imperialist monopoly capitalism, and as capable as any other imperialist current of holding an iron grip on Kenya and other colonial possessions. British Social Democracy long ago severed its historic connections with true internationalism and socialism.

The pervasive influence of social democratic and other trends of bourgeois thinking lead to many contradictions in the sessional paper, and undermine the value of many of the true and valuable things it has to say.

VALID AND IMPORTANT POINTS

At the outset the paper develops many important and valid points. It makes clear that under colonialism the people of Kenya had no voice in the government and that the economy was run for the benefit of non-Africans. It recognizes that the progress required cannot be too easily achieved and that there must be a 'concerted, carefully planned attack on poverty, disease and the lack of education in order to achieve social justice, human dignity and economic welfare for all.' It then goes on to state that the 'major economic mobilization and reorganization of resources that these transitions imply cannot be realized without planning, direction, control and co-operation'.

There can be no quarrel with this nor indeed with some of the specific proposals put forward to help overcome Kenya's colonial legacy. At the same time many of the theoretical formulations and specific proposals require critical reappraisal because they lead in some instances to an approach which will in the end defeat any attempt to put Kenya on the socialist path. This is particularly evident in the first part of the paper which aims to give general definitions of African socialism, comments on the validity of Marxist theory and generally deals with the character of both modern capitalism and communism. Certainly in so far as the paper tends to state general propositions which have a bearing on the nature of the state, the character of the class struggle, the connection between democracy and socialism, etc., many of the anti-socialist concepts of Social Democracy are in evidence.

In the very opening sentence in the chapter which deals with the 'objectives of Societies', it is stated that:

> The ultimate objectives of all societies are remarkably similar and have a universal character suggesting that present conflicts need not be enduring. These objectives typically include:
>
> i. political equality,
> ii. social justice,
> iii. human dignity including freedom of conscience,
> iv. freedom from want, disease and exploitation,
> v. equal opportunities and
> vi. high and growing per capita incomes equitably distributed.
>
> Different societies attach different weights and priorities to these objectives but it is largely in the political and economic means for achieving these ends that societies differ.

In the light of the historical evidence and the experience of contemporary life, how can it be said that these are the objectives of feudalism, of capitalism, of slavery, of imperialism? Each one of these societies pursued the one undeviating objective and that was to maintain the dominance of a special type of property relationship for the benefit of a tiny minority. Where, except in a truly socialist society, is it the objective to distribute income equitably and to abolish exploitation, etc?

This unhappy formulation is not an isolated semantic blunder. It is the first salvo in an attempt to show that the direction of society and its institutions can be determined by something other than its basic class structure. What this other thing is, is never really clearly stated except in the form of a bald claim that traditional African democracy and a background of 'mutual social responsibility' will somehow act as a 'hedge' against the exercise of disproportionate political power by economic groups. Let us not be dazzled by emotive words.

The African is equipped in the same way as any other human being, neither inferior nor superior, neither worse nor better and subject to the same laws of history as the rest of the human race. We have over and over again witnessed in Africa and elsewhere that the traditions of our forefathers (which had roots in a special economic relationship) succumb only too easily when confronted by new economic forms. No amount of invocation of heritage and tradition will make an African capitalist any less competent *in squeezing as much profit as he can out of the exploitation of his fellow men and using his economic powers for the advantage of his class.*

The approach to the state which rejects the fundamental role played by economic classes is not new. It long ago gained currency in circles which were frightened by the impact of Marx's brilliant historical analysis and the uncovering by him of the objective laws of historical development. Just as the ruling class often relates a grievance and a conflict only to the presence of an 'agitator', so they speak of the class struggle as if it would disappear if Marx and his followers would only stop talking about it.

But Marx did not invent the class struggle. He proved beyond doubt that it is the motive force of history.

IS MARXISM OUTDATED?

The weight of historical evidence of the primary nature of class conflict is so great that the more sophisticated apologists for capitalism seldom deny its existence completely. But they either minimize its importance generally or, more specifically, attempt to distort contemporary life by suggesting that in advanced capitalist states there is a harmony of class interests. They maintain that the class struggle which reared its ugly head during the Industrial Revolution no longer has any relevance.

Thus, they go on, in modern Capitalism there is basically no longer any impediment to achieving all the objectives which are in any case 'common to all societies', without (and here's the rub) any basic change in class relationship and state structure.

This denial of the true character of class struggle and its reality in contemporary capitalist society unfortunately finds a place in the paper. For example paragraph 36 which is headed 'class problem' starts off:

> The sharp class divisions that *once* existed in Europe have no place in African Socialism. [My italics—S.D.]

It is equally unfortunate that the crude and time-honoured slander that communism, as opposed to capitalism, does not ensure equal political rights finds a place in a document which claims a socialist inspiration.

> Thus African Socialism differs politically from Communism because it ensures every mature citizen equal political rights (paragraph 10).

This sort of approach of which we should be wary because it is diligently taught to every student of politics in the universities of imperialism, is coupled with another questionable proposition.

> Marxian Socialism and laissez-faire Capitalism *are both* theoretical economic organizations *designed to ensure the use of resources for the benefit of society* (paragraph 21) [My italics—S.D.].

Can there be much doubt that the design of what is called laissez-faire capitalism was the very opposite of what is claimed above? To equate the two, as is done so often in the paper, is to fall into the trap set by capitalist ideologists that the choice of economic organization is a matter of taste rather than the determining factor of the sort of life which the majority of the people will live.

We must question too the doctrine which is repeated in the paper that, whilst Marx's criticism of the workings of the capitalist society of his day had some validity, it is now almost a museum piece.

> Marx's criticism of the society of his time was a valid one . . . (paragraph 19) . . . the Industrial Revolution quickly led to the social protest of which Marx was a part and this in turn resulted in sweeping political and economic changes as the systems of the world adapted to the new state of technological change. *Political democracy was achieved; private property rights were diluted;* the *State accepted increasing responsibilities for social services, planning, guidance and control; taxes were made progressive to distribute benefits more widely. Capitalism did not evolve into Marxian Socialism, as Marx predicted, but was indeed modified in a direction that Marx might well have approved* (paragraph 21). [My italics—S.D.]

What an idyllic picture of the capitalist world! Indeed, one can almost say, a model to be followed. Are we really talking of the same capitalist world when we start claiming for it the attainment of political democracy (for the Negroes?), the dilution of property rights, etc? It is many years after Marx's death that monopoly capitalism came to full flower and created private economic empires of undreamt of power and proportions. It is also long after Marx's time that this same system gave birth to fascism, two world wars and an intensification of colonial exploitation in Kenya and throughout Africa and Asia. Can we accept that the basic direction of modern capitalism is one that 'Marx might well have approved'?

Of course, for the working class in the imperialist countries, the capitalism of today is not the same as the capitalism of 100 years ago. At much cost, organized labour succeeded in wringing some major and some minor concessions from its ruling classes. But particularly we in Africa must never overlook the historic truth that many of the concessions made by western capitalism to its own working class could be afforded without a traumatic effect on its basic structure precisely because of the very real advantages of imperialist accumulation.

Paul A. Baran in *The Political Economy of Growth* puts it well when he says:

> Large resources are being devoted to an extensive campaign of remoulding the history of capitalism . . . the historically minded members of the economics profession seek to prove that by relying on the forces of the free market and of private initiative, economic development was achieved in the past without excessive sacrifices—with the obvious moral that this method still represents the most commendable avenue to economic progress. Little mention, if any, is accorded by these historians to the role that the exploitation of the now under-developed countries has played in the development of Western Capitalism; little attention, if any, is given to the fact that the colonial and dependent countries today have no recourse to such sources of the primary accumulation of capital.

'PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM'?

It may be true that—as a result of permitting workers in the metropolitan countries certain privileges made possible by super-exploitation in the colonies—the imperialist bourgeoisie have been able to mitigate some of the worst features of capitalism as it was in Marx's time. But to say this does not mean that the built-in inequity and exploitation of capitalism have been abolished, or that the system itself has undergone a fundamental change. Yet that is what the drafter of the Kenya paper seems to be claiming when he implies that the change from individual private ownership to joint stock companies has in some way made capitalism more equitable. Paragraph 47 tells us that:

> The Company form of business organization is a departure from the direct individual ownership typical in Marx's day. By permitting many to contribute capital, a company can operate large economic collections of assets while their ownership remains diffused.

This approval of the 'Company form of business organization' is (in paragraph 45) bracketed with 'State ownership, co-operatives and partnerships' as part of the techniques of African socialism to achieve 'diffusion of ownership'. It is a matter for regret that this discredited doctrine of 'people's capitalism' with its false claim that public shareholding erases the evils of the capitalist economy should have found a place in this document.

In fact, both in Marx's day (as he himself demonstrated) and now, the growth of corporate bodies, enabling the richest and most powerful capitalists to mobilize the savings of the public to advance their own special interests, facilitated the concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer hands. It enabled the banks and other financiers to merge with industrial capitalists, and paved the way for the growth of giant monopolies controlling branches of the national economy, and to international cartels.

We Africans, in particular, are hardly likely to be impressed by the alleged superior virtues of the 'Company form of business organization' when we remember that it was the great capitalist Companies such as the British South Africa Company, the British East Africa Company and many others which paved the way to the conquest and colonization of Kenya and most of Africa and Asia.

It is also quite unreal for socialists to think seriously that capitalism has become broader based and more 'democratic' at the very time when the big monopolies are eating up all the small and medium sized concerns, where take-overs and mergers are commonplace events in all advanced capitalist countries. The extent of monopoly domination in the United States is notorious, and of Britain in the middle 1950's J. H. Westergaard has written in his article 'The Withering Away of Class—A Contemporary Myth' (*Towards Socialism*):

> Two-fifths of all private property was estimated to be in the hands of only one per cent of the adult population, and four-fifths in the hands of only ten per cent.
> Legal ownership of private corporate business is especially highly concentrated; four-fifths of all share capital being held by only one per cent of the adult population and nearly all the rest by nine or ten per cent.

Having laid this sort of theoretical framework which I believe is quite alien to socialism, it comes as no surprise that in many respects the discussion on the general direction which a future Kenya should take has very little in common with scientific socialism. The AFRICAN COMMUNIST has on more than one occasion commented on the theoretical dangers of attributing to socialism a mystical national or racial character. In this context the words of President Modiba Keita of Mali are almost prophetic:

> **We will not allow ourselves to be caught by the magic of words. Most of the States speak of African Socialism. Even Senghor speaks of African Socialism.**
> **If we are not careful, the word 'socialism' will be emptied of its meaning and bourgeois systems . . . will be able to camouflage themselves under the sign of socialism.**

Of course, socialism is not a dogma and the precise method of its application to different countries may vary, depending upon such factors as the tradition, history and background of a people as well as the level of the development of the economy and other special features. All socialists in Africa are confronted with the task of adapting scientific socialism to the concrete realities of their own countries. Nor can it be claimed that there is one rigid continent-wide 'reality' which characterizes the whole of our continent. This oversimplification is revealed when one makes even a cursory comparison between, say, South Africa and Ethiopia.

There are many traditions, ideas and concepts of a dying order which, even after a change of power has come about, persist and act as a brake on the construction of the new society. In the same way, due to special historical circumstances (and Africa is, in this respect, not unique) culture patterns and traditional forms of social organization may create a *more* favourable atmosphere in which to proceed with the transformation to a higher form of society.

It is undeniable, for example, that the process of class formation is, in many parts of Africa, as yet an incomplete one. Whilst this factor does not by itself prevent the acceptance by a ruling bureaucracy of a more or less bourgeois approach to social organization, it does create a favourable opportunity for smoother advance towards socialism. The persistence of a special 'communal' approach towards ownership of such basic means of production as land (which, by the way, persisted only because capitalist class formation is incomplete) and the traditional social thought and practice which this engenders, is another favourable feature.

The application of scientific socialist thought to local conditions in a manner peculiarly suited to special factors which exist is not a dilution of Marxism. It is its strength. Just as the precise form in which capitalism makes its appearance will vary from country to country, depending on special historical factors, so the exact path which each country takes to socialism is not a carbon copy procedure. But though the application of socialist principles vary, the principles remain, and if they are abandoned in the name of historical exceptionalism, we are left with neither principles nor socialism. As Mr. Mboya himself observed in the article referred to above: there are certain universal 'basic tenets of socialism . . . and we are either Socialists by these basic principles or not at all'.

IS IT REALLY 'AFRICAN'?

Judged by this correct test, the 'African Socialist' envisaged in the Kenya paper has very little of real socialist content. In fact, one is left with very serious doubts as to whether it is really 'African' in the sense of being based on all that is best in our African traditions. Whatever its intentions, I fear that implementation of some of the thinking in the paper would rather result in the state-aided growth of a form of capitalism which is truly alien to African societies as we have known them.

There is a great deal said in the paper about the role which vague and intangible concepts such as 'the tradition of political democracy' and the 'feelings of mutual responsibility' will play in preventing the universal law of history from asserting itself, (i.e., that in the final analysis a state is controlled by the class which owns its means of production). But when it comes to the tangible traditions of African society which are really inimical to the creation of a society based on the profit incentive and which make for a smoother advance towards socialism, these are rejected in favour of pro-capitalist forms. Witness, for example, the following argument for the encouragement of private land ownership.

> There is some conflict of opinion with regard to the traditional attitude towards rights to land. Some allege that land was essentially communally or tribally owned: others claim that individual rights were the distinguishing feature. (Paragraph 29.)

What apparently emerges from this debate according to the paper is the 'single unifying principle . . . that land and other productive assets, no matter who owned or managed them, were expected to be used for the general welfare'.

Then after hinting that this noble tradition accords with the latest developments in capitalist society (where the state's right to 'order the uses to which property will be put *is universally recognized and unquestioned,* [my italics—S.D.]) the paper goes on:

> These African traditions cannot be carried over indiscriminately to a modern monetary economy. The need to develop and invest requires credit and a credit economy rests heavily on a system of land titles and registration. The ownership of land must therefore be made more definite.

This is not the only occasion in the paper that history is made to stand on its head. Property in land and in other productive assets in traditional African Society was made to serve the general welfare not because of 'a unifying principle' but the unifying principle emerged from the fact that land was in the last resort owned by the community as a whole. It may perhaps be that the traditional concepts of African society have been so eroded that, as in other parts of the world a period of individual ownership of part of the land is a necessary transition stage. Subject to strict control by a state which has embarked on the road to socialism, such a transition stage is not (as has been shown in a number of socialist countries) an insuperable obstacle to the construction of the new socialist society.

But in the paper the individual ownership of land will apparently be encouraged as a permanent feature of life and is said to be linked with the needs of a modern economy.

It should not be forgotten that behind the references to 'credit economy' and 'modern monetary economy' stands the reality of mortgages and bonds; of interest and foreclosures—the nightmare of all peasant masses wherever the capitalist credit economy has taken root. If special care is not taken this could become a money-lenders' charter.

The recommendation of the paper on the encouragement of private ownership of land accords with the proposals of the mission from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development to Tanganyika in 1959-60. In the interest of 'development' it recommended the abolition of common ownership in land which should be divided amongst the peasants. But it also warned that this would lead to 'eventual concentration of ownership of land in the hands of those who have money to lend and the creation of a destitute landless class'. It must be in connection with such a thought that President Nyerere said 'we must reject individual ownership of land and go back to traditional African custom where one is entitled to such land if one uses it'.

True, there is reference in the section dealing with agriculture and land tenure to 'Co-operatives and Companies . . . where large-scale methods of production or marketing are needed'. There is also a recognition that there *may* be a need at some future stage to establish a working party to consider 'the need and practicability of establishing ceilings of individual ownership of property. . . .' But the main theme is clear. Over and over again the paper claims that individual ownership of land and other means of production is one of the corner-stones of 'African Socialism', though it does speak of the need for a residuary power of the state to ensure that all resources are used for the 'mutual interests of society and its members.' We must remember, however, that the creation of a class with a vested interest in private property leads to conflicting views as to what is 'in the mutual interest' of society. The American tycoon was not being facetious when he said, in reply to a query as to whether certain practices of the General Motors company were in the interests of the American people: 'What is good for General Motors is good for America.' Wherever the basis of the economy is private ownership of the means of production, the accepted philosophy of the owners is that their own enrichment is the highest moral law, even when their enrichment means the exploitation of the majority of their fellow-countrymen, to say nothing of the enslavement of millions of human beings in 'the colonies'.

The bracketing of 'Co-operatives and Companies' is not, as might appear, to be some sort of concession to socialist thinking, for, as we have seen, one of the most serious errors of the paper concerns the true meaning of 'the company form of business organization' under capitalism.

Socialists would also very seriously question the role assigned to the state under socialism.

> The state, therefore, has a continuing function to perform, not in subordinating the individual in society, but in enhancing the role of the individual in society. Individuals derive satisfaction not only from the goods they consume but also from those they accumulate. *If human dignity and freedom are to be preserved, provision must be made for both activities by the individual—consumption and accumulation.* (Paragraph 33.) [My italics—S.D.]

Does this sentiment spring from African tradition? It is neither African nor Socialist to spread the capitalist myth that personal accumulation of wealth is a law of God and nature, indispensable for the preservation of 'human dignity and freedom'. Both socialists and those inspired by healthy African traditional thought will be apprehensive that such an emphasis on individual enrichment will encourage selfishness and greed, and could be a rationalization of the very basis of capitalism—individual accumulation of profit, based on private ownership of the means of production. The question of ownership is of crucial significance.

Ownership of certain of the means of production is regarded as one of the pillars of African Socialism and will be a permanent feature of a future 'socialist' Kenya. In order to overcome the historically proven consequences of such private ownership the paper warns that 'under African Socialism the power to control resource use resides with the State but to imagine however, that the use of resources can only be controlled through their ownership is,' says the paper, 'an error of great magnitude'. (Paragraph 31.) It is in connection with the same thought that the paper proceeds to equate the accumulation of private wealth with human dignity and freedom.

The paper tends to regard a measure of Government involvement and control in the process of economic growth as if it were the same as socialism. Socialism is, of course, much much more than this. If, by encouraging the growth of a basically capitalist structure, you create an economically powerful minority, no amount of theory will prevent an exercise by it of a disproportionate political influence. Even in fascist South Africa and imperialist U.S.A. the governments play a very vital role in economic planning and control. In South Africa the government owns the major portion of the steel industry, the communication system (including airways and railways), and is a dominant partner in many others. Can we, by any stretch of the imagination, regard either of these countries as even approximating to socialism?

THE BASIC SOCIALIST PRINCIPLE

The one universal basic principle of socialism which distinguishes it from capitalism is the social ownership of the means of production. No one suggests that an immediate general take-over of all economic activity by a state aiming for socialism is in all circumstances feasible or even desirable.

Thus, for example, many countries which have taken the socialist path, have found it necessary and advantageous to permit a limited area of private capitalist ownership, especially during the earlier period when, having taken over the key industries, the workers were acquiring the experience and building the productive forces to enable them to complete the process of building socialism. Thus, Lenin's 'New Economic Policy' in the U.S.S.R. in the twenties allowed a limited scope for private entrepreneurs in strictly limited areas of the economy; the People's Republic of China permits, in partnership with the state, the operation of private undertakings whose proprietors played a patriotic role in the liberation struggle. The South African Communist Party's programme does not envisage the immediate socialization of all the means of production. And Dr. Nkrumah in his well-known speech in 1964, recognized that socialism would be hampered by encouraging local capitalism, but acknowledged that during the present phase small entrepreneurs could achieve valuable economic initiatives.

But, in each of these cases the toleration of a private sector was regarded as a temporary necessity, and the eventual complete disappearance of the private sector correctly regarded as an essential for the achievement of socialism.

It is precisely here that the Kenya document parts company with accepted scientific socialist thought. The training of local 'entrepreneurs' (capitalists) and the rapid creation of an indigenous capitalist class is regarded as a *sine qua non* for the constructing of 'African Socialism'. What is more, the private sector is treated throughout as a vital cornerstone of a modern monetary economy. True, at one point (paragraph 41) the paper recognizes that the concentration of economic power in private hands carries with it 'the possible exercise of undue influence in political affairs and must be watched closely'. But the problem is seen as one of containing the future big capitalists of Kenya, and as a complex one, because it is thought necessary to 'ensure that the steps taken do not inhibit the rapid accumulation of domestic savings' (for which read, 'private profit').

It is disturbing that there should be an acceptance of the capitalist notion that a country cannot be developed unless the private profit incentive is present. There is further a hint in the paper that to take too drastic steps against capitalists may prohibit 'methods of large-scale production where they are necessary for efficiency'. No theory need be invoked to prove the incorrectness of this claim. The economic strides made by China as compared to India has once again demonstrated that social ownership of the means of production is, in the long run, the only answer to the problems of underdeveloped countries. (It will be remembered that both countries achieved liberation at about the same time and, if anything India was at that point more developed.) And what of the Russian economic miracle?

There is, nevertheless, a recognition of the need to prevent limitless accumulation of wealth by private capitalists. Some curb will be achieved, according to the paper, by progressive income inheritance and capital gains taxes, and death duties. This will be the 'principal *long term technique* for controlling the rate of individual accumulation'. Even a superficial study of western capitalism shows this technique to be wholly ineffective. Yet the drafters of the paper appear to accept that

> large individual accumulations of wealth in Western countries were largely achieved before progressive taxes were introduced. . . . (Paragraph 42.)

One wonders how such a statement comes to be adopted in the face of the annual rocketing of the profits (after taxation-progressive or not) of the big capitalist giants in every capitalist country in the world including Britain.

The paper recognizes that, given an economy based on private ownership and profit, there are severe limitations to the ways in which the state can prevent the accumulation of private wealth.

'Extreme tax rates may simply force capital abroad where rates are lower,' (paragraph 43) and again, 'The tax structure will not however be made prohibitive or confiscatory. Reasonable levels of profits, property accumulations . . . are necessary and desirable if a high rate of growth is to be achieved and enjoyed.' (Paragraph 97.)

CLASS PROBLEMS AND NATIONALIZATION

The paper states that: 'No class problem arose in the traditional African society and none exists today in Africa'. There is some truth in this observation, although the situation in Nigeria and a number of other African countries must lead to serious doubts as to the continuing validity of such a generalization. But what of the future? Having outlined proposals some of which at least are designed to foster the growth of an indigenous capitalist class, the paper nevertheless maintains:

> The class problem in Africa is therefore largely one of prevention, in particular to plan development so as to prevent the emergence of antagonistic classes. (Paragraph 36.)

If this was the intention of the drafter of the paper, he has, to say the least, not succeeded. On the contrary, the proposals must result in the emergence of antagonistic classes in Kenya. Only nationalization could prevent a clash between the interests of the owners of industry and those whose labour they exploit, and no doubts are left in the readers' minds regarding the paper's attitude to this question. The section on nationalization is introduced by stating:

> The Constitution and the KANU Manifesto make it clear that African Socialism in Kenya does not imply a commitment to indiscriminate nationalization. These documents do commit the Government to prompt payment of full compensation whenever nationalization is used. (Paragraph 73.)

We then read a procession of arguments which tend to lead to the conclusion that large scale nationalization will be harmful to the Kenyan economy. Having unfortunately committed itself to the bourgeois outlook that the social ownership of the means of production interferes in some mysterious fashion with the prospects of development, the paper makes it crystal clear that nationalization will only take place as a last resort in specified circumstances such as:

> (i) When the assets in private hands threaten the security or undermine the integrity of the nation; or
> (ii) when productive resources are being wasted; or
> (iii) when the operation of an industry by private concerns has a serious detrimental effect on the public interest *and*
> (iv) when other less costly means of control are not available or are not effective. (Paragraph 75.)

Whatever other checks and balances are introduced there is no doubt, if the principles of the paper are implemented, the new bourgeoisie which will arise will play an important part in deciding whether any of the above vague and generalized circumstances have arisen in any industry such as to warrant nationalization.

WORKERS' RIGHTS

In contrast to this marked tenderness shown throughout towards capitalist elements is the tough line taken towards the working people, and in the first place towards the trade union movement. If the workers owned the means of production, their co-operation would naturally be forthcoming to develop them to the utmost. But where there is private ownership and exploitation the first need of the workers is naturally to enjoy trade union rights to protect them against exploitation and to achieve better wages and working conditions. The paper is surprisingly silent on such needs, and talks of 'discipline' and attacks strikes as if it were drawn up by true-blue British Tories instead of African radicals.

> The first responsibility of the unions must be to develop a skilled, disciplined and responsible labour force. The nation's welfare and that of the workers depend much more on hard, productive work than on strikes and walk-outs. Unions must concern themselves with training programmes, apprentice programmes and workers' discipline and productivity. . . . Strikes cost the nation output, the workers wages, the companies profits and the government taxes. Wages in excess of those warranted by productivity increase the unemployment, encourage the substitution of capital for labour, and lead to bankruptcies. (Paragraphs 127 and 128.)

Compulsory arbitration is then promised as well as an undertaking that 'The Government will also ensure that workers are not exploited.' (Paragraph 129.)

It is worrying that there is no reference in the section on Trade Unions which suggests that they will have the responsibility and the right to engage in the struggle for higher wages. The principle, referred to earlier that accumulation is necessary in order to preserve 'human dignity and freedom', if it has validity, must surely apply to the workers as well as the bosses. In the case of the workers the struggle to get a bigger and bigger share of the capitalist profit (made out of the labour of the workers) is treated almost as if it were an unpatriotic activity. But then, of course, we are assured that as against the capitalists' right to make a 'fair profit' and to go in for 'reasonable accumulation', the government will ensure that 'minimum wages are reasonable'. This sort of platitude however well intentioned seldom, if ever, operates in favour of the working class even though it is repeated often by the ruling class of every capitalist country.

The paper does recognize that 'foreign ownership and management of productive assets could mean that economic decisions in Kenya might be dominated by foreign rather than domestic considerations'. It however makes the point that foreign investors should be prepared to accept 'the spirit of mutual responsibility' by employing Africans at all levels (including managerial staff when qualified persons can be found) and *by making shares in the company available to Africans who wish to buy them.* (Paragraph 38.)

The above reference to the dangers of foreign private investment is the only reference to the ever present menace throughout Africa (Kenya included) of neo-colonialism. And let us never forget, neo-colonialism is always prepared to make its shares available to local capitalists 'who wish to buy them'. In this way it creates a local compradore group with a vested interest in perpetuating this new type of imperialism. It is for this reason that Dr. Nkrumah in his speech of March 11th, 1964, announced a prohibition against Ghanaians purchasing shares in foreign-owned enterprises.

The paper under review says that, now independence has been achieved, foreigners can only have a political voice by 'enlisting the support of Kenya citizens'. This way of thinking is fraught with grave danger to the future of Kenya's independence. If some wealthy Kenya citizens are allowed to become partners in the fruits of foreign private investment, will not they tend to become a reactionary fifth column in the service of alien imperialism?

Foreign capital investment may well be necessary for rapid development in many parts of Africa, including Kenya. And provided that no strings are attached, and suitable safeguards provided, there is no reason why capital should not be sought even from imperialist countries. But something more tangible than the 'spirit' referred to, and less dangerous than the encouragement of individual local participation, is needed to safeguard a country's sovereignty and independence against the all too patent designs of neo-colonialism. State participation, on a basis which ensures that the country and its people, and not merely rapacious foreign shareholders, should be the beneficiaries, appears to be the right answer.

SOCIALISM NOT WON ON PAPER

I think African patriots should be frank with one another, and so I have concentrated mainly on what I consider to be serious defects in the 'African Socialism' paper. That does not mean that it does not have its positive aspects.

The search for a form of society which draws on the best of African traditions and is yet adaptable to rapidly changing circumstances, and ensures national independence (paragraph 7) is certainly to be applauded. So, too, is much of the serious thinking that went into the treatment of many concrete problems such as education, training of skilled manpower, conservation of natural resources and other important problems.

One would have found far less to quarrel with in this paper had it not gone beyond these matters to be so dogmatic, incorrect and Western-orientated in dealing with so vitally important a question as African socialism. If the paper had come straight out to advocate and argue in favour of the capitalist road for Africa (and that is what, in fact, it does) it would have been more honest and less irritating to deal with.

However, one should not imagine that such a use of a socialist label for bourgeois thinking will in practice prevent or even delay Kenya from taking the socialist road.

As everywhere in the world, the winning of socialism in Africa depends not on high-sounding declarations of intent, not on papers, but on determined struggle by the masses of labouring people, the workers and peasants, who can never be persuaded that their interest lies in nourishing a group of privileged parasites, native and foreign, to appropriate the fruits of their labour.

Our knowledge of the militant tradition and patriotism of the working people of Kenya, who wrested their freedom in many years of armed struggle against the imperialists, fills us with confidence that they will complete the struggle for independence and the liberation of their country by advancing to a truly socialist Kenya, in line with the universally-valid truths disclosed by Marx and Lenin.

East African Trends 2 TANZANIA

BACKGROUND TO FIVE-YEAR PLANS

A. Langa

> This (the national democratic state) represents that form of the state which is most appropriate in the colonial and semi-colonial countries following their revolution. Such a state is democratic because it exists under the joint dictatorship of several anti-imperialist classes, that is, the vast majority of the people. United by the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, such a state is able to meet and solve all the complicated questions of economic and social reform, of industrial development and of raising the living standards of the people. . . . The tasks before such a state call for increasingly non-capitalist and socialist measures; the state will take new and considerable initiatives in all branches of production and exchange, it will introduce more and more co-operative forms of enterprise redistribute the land of the colonial elements and give the peasantry a new and fuller place in society. In other words, the revolution pursues paths which gradually but decisively reduce the elements of exploitation in society, thus ensuring not only maximum economic growth, but willing participation of the entire people in all the tasks of economic and social reconstruction.—P. TLALE in THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, No. 19.

TANZANIA HAS MANY serious obstacles to overcome on its path of development. For centuries it has been ravaged by conquerors—first the Arab slave traders and ivory-hunters, operating from their base in Zanzibar; then the murderous German imperialists whose genocidal rule lasted from 1886 until the period of the first world war; and finally the British 'trustees' (Tanganyika was mandated to Britain by the League of Nations) whose rule was marginally less savage than that of the Germans, but whose economic exploitation was more intensive and efficient.

It is not surprising therefore that Tanzania is abysmally poor—the Tanzanian income per head is only £19 6s. 0d. a year. The economy is overwhelmingly dependent on the export of sisal (approximately £22 million in 1964) and cotton (£11 million) which together account for more of *Tanganyika's* export earnings than all other exports taken together. These crops, like nearly all commodities produced in the formerly imperialist-ruled countries are marketed in London, Paris and New York at prices controlled by the big imperialist cartels, who do their best to push prices down and increase their own profits. Agricultural exports are therefore a shaky basis on which to plan for development.

The Tanzanian government's solution to the problem of poverty is a series of three Five-Year Plans covering the period 1964 to 1980, by which it is hoped to raise the income per head of the Tanzanian people from £19 6s. to £45—about the same as the present yearly income per head in the United Arab Republic.

The first Five-Year Plan, which is already in operation, calls for capital expenditure of £246 million. It is worth looking at what the Plan is trying to achieve, and how it proposes to pay for the development envisaged.

The Plan will start the rise of the people's income towards the £45 goal—by 1970, the planners hope, the figure will have risen from £19 to £29. The plan also envisages continued and accelerated progress in training manpower—by 1980, it is hoped, Tanzania will be entirely self-sufficient in manpower requirements. Health services are to be expanded, with the aim of raising the life-expectancy of Tanzanians from the present figure of thirty-five years, to fifty years. Agriculture is to become better-organized and more efficient, mainly by the use of better farming methods and the supply of more mechanical agricultural tools, and by the encouragement of peasant co-operatives and Government land settlements. At the same time, industry is to be expanded. Factories will be set up to produce consumer goods, many of which are at present imported but which can easily be manufactured in Tanzania.

DANGEROUS WEAKNESS

Of particular importance is the setting up of three sisal-spinning factories in Tanzania, breaking the vicious imperialist-imposed pattern of being used as a store-house of valuable raw materials, which are taken away at low prices by the monopolies, processed, and then sold back to the source country, and sold elsewhere, at exorbitant prices. But the sisal-processing factories are being backed by British and Dutch investment. Only a small amount of the necessary capital comes from local sources, and most of the local money is from private investors. This one example exposes the flaw in the Five-Year Plan—a flaw which may prove fatal for the Tanzanian government's hopes for the future.

Of the £246 million required to implement the plan, no less than £128.5 million, or more than half, is to come from outside sources. This is a dangerous situation—it means that for the next five years, Tanzania will be heavily dependent on loans and investment from other countries. The more money that is supplied by the Western powers, the greater the danger to Tanzania's independence. Linked with the peril of too great a reliance on imperialist assistance, is the fact that nearly 40 per cent of the entire expenditure envisaged in the plan will be spent in the private sector of the economy.

It is difficult to reconcile this unhealthy emphasis on the private sector with the progress along the path of non-capitalist development which has already been made. All over Tanzania, the people have formed themselves into 'village development committees', working on communal development projects, on roads, schools, clinics, and housing. In 1964, President Nyerere announced recently, the masses by their own voluntary action carried out projects worth over £1 million. For a country as poor and backward as Tanzania, this is truly a magnificent achievement. But the village development committees, which are to be integrated into the Five-Year Plan, do not possess the resources necessary to make a sufficiently large contribution to national progress which will reduce Tanzania's dependence on western 'aid'. What is needed is carefully planned, vigorous and well co-ordinated action by the central government to channel the enthusiasm and struggle of the people towards the achievement of a state of national democracy.

It is regrettable that such elements are far from being sufficiently stressed in the Five-Year plan, and one finds it hard to avoid the conclusion that to some extent the drafters were influenced by pressures from the imperialist countries.

IMPERIALIST DESIGNS

President Nyerere has repeatedly declared that he will accept aid from anywhere as long as it has no strings attached. But, over the last few years, the powers that wish to re-colonize Africa have become more subtle in their methods. There are no explicit strings attached to Western aid any more, at least not until it has already been accepted. Then it becomes clear that aid may be withdrawn if the recipient country does anything to offend the imperialist power; or the aid is administered by the imperialists themselves in such a way as to undermine the country's chosen path of development—American aid in particular is invariably directed at strengthening the capitalist sector of the economy, and weakening the socialist sector. Thus the aid which Tanzania will get from the West under the Five-Year Plan is a deliberate attempt to wean Tanzania away from socialism, and back into the imperialist camp.

Imperialist designs on Tanzanian independence have been exposed for all to see. In December last year, an American plot to overthrow the Tanzanian government and crush the revolutionary movements using Tanzania as a base, was uncovered by Tanzanian security authorities. In January this year, two U.S. 'diplomats' were expelled from Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam for subversive activities. Ever since the popular revolution in Zanzibar, the U.S. imperialists have been feverishly organizing counter-revolutionary activities, while the British give aid and comfort to the deposed Sultan, who now lives in luxury in London on money provided by the British. In Tanganyika, the President himself has remarked that American 'Peace Corps' teachers are assiduously spreading anti-government propaganda among Tanzania's students.

However, imperialist designs to purchase with dollars, pounds or West Deutschmarks the freedom and independence which the people of Tanzania have so dearly won are likely to founder on the hard rock of African patriotism which the people, the government and President Nyerere himself have courageously and consistently displayed.

Tanzania's hardy spirit of independence is enabling this small country to play an increasingly important part in African and world affairs.

Fighters for liberation from apartheid South Africa, and other parts of Africa oppressed by colonialism, will never forget the brotherhood and aid they have received and are receiving from the government and the people of Tanzania.

Neither has Nyerere succumbed to the bullying tactics of the Bonn government, which is trying to reclaim its former colony. In February of this year, the Tanzanian President announced that, because of the friendly relations which the German Democratic Republic enjoyed with Zanzibar, a Consulate-General of the G.D.R. would be opened in Dar es Salaam. At once the Bonn government, invoking the so-called 'Hallstein Doctrine', announced that its military aid to Tanzania would be stopped. The Bonn militarists hoped that Tanzania would be bullied into submission, and meekly surrender its sovereignty to the interests of West German revanchism. Two days later, however, their schemes for domination were dashed when Nyerere announced, on February 28th, that *all* West German aid was being rejected forthwith.

Western commentators have expressed horror and dismay at Tanzania's establishment of friendly relations with socialist countries, and the signing of agreements with socialist nations has been greeted with cant about 'Red domination' and the 'Yellow Peril' overrunning Tanzania. But Tanzania has not been deterred from following a path of strict non-alignment and from holding a progressive attitude towards important international questions.

This was most clearly shown at the recent Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference, when the Tanzanian President alone among all the Commonwealth leaders refused to be taken in by Harold Wilson's attempt to pull the wool over the eyes of the people of the world, with his farcical 'peace mission' on Vietnam. Similarly, Nyerere repudiated the 'joint communique' on a solution to the Rhodesian question, and successfully exposed the British Government's shameful attempts to worm out of its responsibilities, in spite of the feverish attempts of Wilson's propagandists to pretend that the Conference had reached unanimity when it had not done so.

It is this sturdy independence of President Nyerere and his colleagues which inspires one with confidence that the imperialist powers will not succeed in their efforts to force Tanzania to abandon its progressive policies on all-African and international problems.

'We shall not sell the freedom we have won,' said President Nyerere, and there is no reason to doubt he meant every word of it. But imperialism is going all out to secure by economic penetration and dependence concessions it could never gain by force or bribery. Against this danger the utmost vigilance and clearness of direction are called for. Fifteen years is a long time; plans can be modified and amplified in the light of experience. Historical experience is likely to show Tanzania's leaders that far more radical transformations to revolutionize the character of the economy and curb the development of capitalism are required if the country is to consolidate its independence, raise living standards and play its rightful role in the building of the New Africa.

THE 'FISCHER' TRIAL

Z. Nkosi

On November 16th, 1964, the trial opened in Johannesburg of fourteen White men and women charged on three counts under the Suppression of Communism Act—that they belonged to the illegal South African Communist Party, that they took part in the activities of the Party, and that they furthered the aims of Communism. On April 2nd, 1965, twelve of the accused were found guilty and on April 13th they were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The case is of significance because it was the first case since the Suppression of Communism Act was passed in 1950 that anybody had been either charged or convicted on account of membership of the Communist Party. Hundreds of people, including many non-Communists, had been convicted under one or other provision of the Act in the preceding fifteen years. Now, for the first time, the State had been able to secure a conviction against people proved to the satisfaction of the court to have been members of the Party and sentenced because they had, as Communists, attempted to 'replace the present state of the Republic of South Africa by a dictatorship of the working class'.

The fourteen originally charged were: Mr. Abram Fischer, Q.C., leading defence lawyer in the Rivonia sabotage trial; Mr. Ivan Schermbrucker, former manager of the banned *New Age* and *Spark* newspapers; Mr. Eli Weinberg, for over thirty years a prominent trade union official until banned by the Nationalist Government, later a professional photographer; Mrs. Esther Barsel, former member of the Friends of the Soviet Union and the Congress of Democrats; Dr. Costa Gazides, former member of the Congress of Democrats; Mr. Lewis Baker, well-known Benoni attorney and secretary of the East Rand Branch of the Communist Party until its illegalisation in 1950; Mr. Paul Trewhela, journalist and former member of the Congress of Democrats; Mr. Norman Levy, teacher and former national executive member of the Congress of Democrats; Mrs. Molly Doyle, former member of the Congress of Democrats; Miss Sylvia Neame, student and former member of the Liberal Party and later the Congress of Democrats; Miss Anne

Nicholson, art student and former member of the Congress of Democrats; Miss Jean Middleton, schoolteacher and former member of the Congress of Democrats; Mr. Hymie Barsel, former secretary of the Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union; and Miss Florence Duncan, physiotherapist and former member of the Congress of Democrats.

The accused are described as 'former members of the Congress of Democrats', not because they resigned from the Congress, but because it was banned by the Nationalist Government in September 1962.

Of the fourteen originally charged, *Hymie Barsel* was, eventually, found to be not guilty; *Abram Fischer* went into hiding in January 1965 in order to continue the struggle against apartheid from underground; and the remaining twelve were sentenced as follows:

Eli Weinberg and *Ivan Schermbrucker*—three years on each of two counts, one year to run concurrently: a total of five years;

Esther Barsel, Norman Levy, Lewis Baker and *Jean Middleton*—two and a half years on each of two-counts, two years to run concurrently: a total of three years;

Ann Nicholson, Paul Trewhela, Sylvia Neame, Florence Duncan and *Molly Doyle*—two years on each of two counts, the sentences to run concurrently: a total of two years;

Costa Gazides—twelve months on each of two counts, the sentences to run concurrently: a total of twelve months.

The case was heard in the Johannesburg Regional Court before magistrate Mr. S. C. Allen. The maximum jurisdiction of the Regional Court is three years. Two of the three counts on which the accused were charged were eventually ruled to be alternative to one another; thus the maximum penalty the accused could have received was six years. Considering this was the first offence for many of the accused, the sentences must be regarded as undoubtedly severe. A number of the accused are reported to have noted an appeal.

These are the bare bones of a case which contained all the elements of drama and suspense of a fictional thriller, but which at the same time underlined starkly the atmosphere of tyranny and oppression which prevails in South Africa today. It must be stressed that the accused were found guilty of nothing except membership of the Communist Party. They were not alleged to have committed or even planned acts of violence against any person or property (apart possibly from one case of slogan painting). Had there been any suggestion of such activity, they would have been charged with sabotage and liable to much heavier penalties, including possibly the death penalty. In essence, the accused have been punished for holding opinions which are quite legitimate and normal in any democratic society, but which in South Africa have been outlawed by a Government determined to crush all opposition to apartheid and to maintain White domination by brute force.

STATUE TORTURE

Most of the accused were held for long periods under the ninety-day no-trial Act before being brought to trial, and during their detention many of them were subjected to the most insidious form of torture yet devised by the Security Police—the so-called 'statue torture', copied from the Portuguese P.I.D.E. This consists in keeping the victim under interrogation standing within a small square chalked on the floor until he or she either complies with the instructions of the inquisitor, or collapses unconscious from the strain. Ivan Schermbrucker, for example, was forced to stand for twenty-eight hours without sleep at the Grays, Special Branch headquarters in Johannesburg. On August 8th, 1964, he managed to smuggle a note out of police cells describing these torture methods and saying he had been driven to contemplate 'bloody suicide' in order to escape from further 'statue' interrogation. This resulted in special court applications and widespread publicity in the South African and overseas press. The police chief, Col. George Klindt, denied the torture and the court applications failed to secure Schermbrucker's release.

Dr. Gazides was given the 'statue' torture for forty hours. Lewis Baker, fifty-four years old, was made to stand for seventeen hours, Paul Trewhela for 110 hours, Norman Levy, despite a heart condition, for 104 hours.

Not even the women were spared the 'statue' torture. Ann Nicholson, for example, was made to stand without a break for eight hours. Nor should one overlook the 'simple' torture of solitary confinement under ninety-day detention. Sylvia Neame, who had two periods of ninety-day detention, the first for forty-five days and the second for fifty-four days, made a statement from the dock in which she described her detention as 'the most gruelling experience of my life'.

She said: 'I was held *incommunicado* in a cell six paces by four paces, with an hour out a day. Except for weekly interrogations which lasted from one to two hours, I had no other contact whatever during my period of detention.

'Food was brought by wardresses who refused to talk at all. During these periods of prolonged solitude I was completely battered emotionally. I developed an intense feeling of being cut off. I no longer belonged. I couldn't recognize any continuity with my past, my present and my future. When I was released after forty-five days (her first period) into a strange world the reaction was even more severe. I could not adjust myself to a strange environment of people, faces and places. I mistrusted everybody, recoiled from all human contact.'

In her second period of detention, Sylvia Neame grew so desperate that she tried to escape—an offence for which she was sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

When Norman Levy was describing his experience of 'statue' torture, he said that a chair was placed behind him 'but it was made clear that if I sat down I would be assaulted'. Levy said he had a weak heart and felt the police were taking advantage of this.

The prosecutor, Mr. Liebenberg: 'I suggest the whole lot of you got together and fabricated a case against the police.'

At this pandemonium broke out amongst the accused and the prosecutor's voice was drowned by repeated cries of 'liar' and 'no, no' from those in the dock. There is no doubt whatsoever that all the accused were subjected to torture of one form or another before they were brought to trial.

Main evidence against the accused was given by two men—one, Petrus Beyleveld, a former ninety-day detainee who broke down under ninety-day detention; the other a police informer, Gerhard Gunther Ludi, who was recruited into the Security Police in 1960 and succeeding in worming his way into the underground Communist Party in 1963. Both gave evidence of meetings of Communist Party committees and groups and details of Communist Party discussions and activities.

THE TRAITOR BEYLEVELD

Beyleveld, who claimed he was a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee, District Committee and Area Committee, presented a pathetic spectacle in the witness box. Looking thin and haggard, he stumbled over words and tired very quickly, his mouth hanging open, his face distorted by a nervous twitch. He seldom glanced at the accused, and when he did his eyes flitted away again quickly.

Beyleveld's character was revealed in the following passage of cross-examination by the defence counsel, Mr. V. C. Berrange:

Berrange: You joined the Communist Party because it seemed the one organisation which had a chance of setting right the people's grievances?

Beyleveld: Yes.

Berrange: You were a dedicated Communist in a high position of power?

Beyleveld: I was. I would like to withdraw from politics. (At this stage several of the accused laughed, remembering a previous statement of Beyleveld's that 'I was and still am' in favour of Communism.)

Berrange: Mr. Beyleveld, if your evidence is true, the arrests that have taken place, if they lead to conviction, must be a shattering blow to the South African Communist Party?

Beyleveld: True.

Berrange: Are you going to find it easy to live with yourself, your wife, your son, your friends?

Beyleveld: It was not an easy decision. It is not easy now.

Berrange: That is not my question.

Beyleveld: Once you have taken a decision it is easy to live with it.

Berrange: I put it to you that you will find it easy to live with yourself if you have been loyal.

Beyleveld smiles wryly, shrugs: I have failed.

Berrange: Without any pressure from the police?

Beyleveld: Yes.

Berrange: Will you agree that you are either a perjuror or a traitor?

Beyleveld: No. I'm not a perjuror. There is a third position. I admit I have been selfish.

Beyleveld was then cross-examined by Mr. Hanson, Q.C., appearing at that stage for Mr. Fischer.

Hanson: Fischer was respected by all sections of society and revered by some? He was revered by you?

Beyleveld: Yes.

Hanson: I don't like to put this in my client's presence, but he carries something like a saint-like aura?

Beyleveld: Correct.

Hanson: And this saint-like man, you are prepared to put him in jail?

(Beyleveld appears upset and tries to hedge.) Not when I made a statement. I did not expect to give evidence.

Hanson: Do you think of nothing else except your own liberty?

Beyleveld: I'll concede that.

Hanson: It is so important that you are prepared to go back on the principles of a lifetime?

Beyleveld: Yes.

Hanson: You are a freedom fighter for your own liberty. (Laughter from the accused.)

There, in a nutshell, is the difference between Beyleveld and the accused. Unlike these men and women, who stood their ground and defended their principles despite all the pressures brought to bear on them, Beyleveld was prepared to bargain away his conscience to win his freedom. In addition to blasting the lives of the accused (against whom, he said in justification of his treachery, there was in any case plenty of other evidence), he named people not previously known to the police, some of whom were later arrested, some of whom will perhaps still be arrested. He also gave evidence which helped convict the accused charged with sabotage in the Mkwayi trial, and it is now reported that he is to tour South Africa giving evidence in other political trials.

Beyleveld said he was overwhelmed while under ninety-day detention when he realised that the police knew everything about the Communist Party, and it was this which decided him that 'the game was up'. Yet the case against five of the accused rested on his uncorroborated evidence. These five were Ivan Schermbrucker and Eli Weinberg, said by Beyleveld to be members of the Central Committee; Norman Levy, said to be a member of both the District and Area Committees; and Esther Barsel and Lewis Baker, said to be members of the Area Committee.

Beyleveld was the *only* witness against Schermbrucker. He was also the only witness to say that the activities of the other four, about which other evidence had been given, were conducted in their capacities as members of the Communist Party.

For example, a crucial piece of evidence was given by a police Captain Schutte, who said that on the night of June 16th, 1964, he kept watch in the shadow of a lamp-post in Bayne Street, Cyrildene, on a house on the opposite side of the road. Beyleveld, Esther Barsel, Norman Levy, Middleton and Lewis Baker came out of the house and drove away in a car parked some distance from the house.

What happened in the house? Captain Schutte of course did not know. Nor did the owner of the house, who also gave evidence. It could have been a tea party. Ludi, the police spy, said Jean Middleton, who was a member of his group, had told him she was going to attend a meeting of the Area Committee on that date. But was this the meeting? It was conceded that she sometimes attended several meetings on the same day. The accused said it was a meeting to discuss defence and aid for accused in political trials. Only Beyleveld said it was a meeting of the Area Committee of the Communist Party.

Schermbrucker denied any acquaintance with the Communist Party, and there was nobody and nothing apart from Beyleveld to contradict him. Weinberg admitted having borrowed a flat from a friend (who gave evidence to this effect, but did not know what Weinberg wanted it for). Weinberg said he wanted the flat so that he could meet African trade unionists secretly because he was banned from attending gatherings. He admitted a contravention of his banning order, but denied it was in furtherance of Communist Party activity. Only Beyleveld claimed he had in fact been present at a Central Committee meeting in the flat.

Although there were many discrepancies in the State evidence to which defence counsel drew attention, and although the five accused gave evidence which was not destroyed in cross-examination, three of them corroborating one another, the magistrate found them guilty, accepting the evidence of Beyleveld, even though Beyleveld conceded under cross-examination that he *could have* given evidence 95 per cent true while lying convincingly about the rest, substituting false names and meetings for real ones. He denied, of course, that he had done so. But it was his word against that of the accused. Was the case against them proved beyond all reasonable doubt, as required by law?

Or take the case of Molly Doyle, who has already served six months for furthering the aims of the banned African National Congress and, in addition to her present two-year sentence, may have to serve an additional year suspended from her previous sentence if she loses her appeal. Molly Doyle is alleged from secret tape recordings to have taken part in Communist Party activities and to have hired a room for the Party. She admitted hiring the room, but denied knowing that it was for the Communist Party. She again was convicted because of Beyleveld's say-so.

The evidence against the remaining accused is more detailed. Confirmation of some of Beyleveld's accusations against them was provided by secret police agent Ludi, who was in a Communist Party group with them. Meetings held by the group in Jean

Middleton's flat were tape-recorded by a police constable Schroeder who had hired the flat next door and kept a nightly vigil there. Schroeder also installed a one-way mirror above his front door so that he could observe all visitors to Middleton's flat without himself being seen.

DEVICES

The police refused to give details of the manner in which they had obtained recordings of meetings, but the case revealed extensive use by the police of the latest devices. On one occasion, on March 1st, 1964, Constable Schroeder saw a woman place an envelope under the door of Jean Middleton's flat. Another policeman, warrant officer W. O. J. Kruger, testified that he saw Molly Doyle going into the building on that evening. Shortly afterwards, Kruger received a radio message from Constable Schroeder from within the building. Schroeder also telephoned his Chief, Lt. Broodryk, at Security Branch headquarters, and was given instructions to enter Jean Middleton's flat and recover the envelope she had pushed under the door. As a result of this bit of housebreaking, the police obtained a soap impression of a key found in Jean Middleton's flat which fitted the lock of a room which the police knew, through Ludi and one of the recordings, the group intended hiring. The room was raided several times, but no one and nothing was ever found in it, yet this was the evidence on which Molly Doyle was convicted.

Through Ludi the group also hired a post box at Mayfair post office which was used for all postal correspondence with the group. Ludi would hand over all post received to police headquarters, where it was photostatted and returned to Ludi for delivery to the group. Ludi himself took tape recordings of group meetings held in his car and at a restaurant, and from the recordings themselves it would appear the transmitting apparatus was small enough to fit into his inside jacket pocket. Ludi also informed his superiors about slogan-painting operations undertaken by the group, the members of which were under observation by the police while they were on the job.

In the main this, together with 'expert' evidence on Communism from red-hunting Professor Murray of Cape Town University, was the core of the State case against the accused. What was the accused's defence?

Ivan Schermbrucker, Eli Weinberg, Esther Barsel, Norman Levy, Lewis Baker, Molly Doyle and Hymie Barsel, while not repudiating their political beliefs or, in some cases, their membership of the Communist Party before 1950, denied being members of the illegal Communist Party or taking part in its activities. The remaining accused—Jean Middleton, Ann Nicholson, Costa Gazides, Paul Trewhela, Florence Duncan and Sylvia Neame—all admitted being members of the illegal Communist Party and made statements from the dock giving their reasons for joining the Party.

WHY THEY JOINED

Sylvia Neame said she had been interested in politics ever since the age of fifteen. After first joining the Liberal Party, she joined the Congress of Democrats because she regarded it as the most effective organisation fighting against apartheid and she accepted wholeheartedly the aims of the Freedom Charter. With the banning of the Congress of Democrats, she saw no alternative to joining the Communist Party. She considered herself a socialist, and saw the party as the only organization which had strong links with the non-white liberation movement.

Jean Middleton said that politics began in the heart. She had always been distressed and horrified at the living conditions of non-whites. She believed that socialism was the only answer, offering more freedom than the present society.

Ann Nicholson said that freedom of speech and organization was basic to any democracy and both had been destroyed in South Africa. She joined the party to assist the freedom-struggle of the non-whites who were the main force in the liberation movement. Her only crime had been that she did something practical to see that justice was done.

Dr. Gazides told the court how he had been hounded and persecuted ever since he took a stand against the apartheid policies of the Government. He had joined the party because it provided the only answer that he, as a doctor, could see to the poverty of the non-whites. He was in the party barely a month before being arrested.

Trewhela said: 'I am a Communist and a South African.' The youngest of the accused (twenty-three), he had been influenced by the attitude of the Whites that they were entitled to dominate all aspects of society—which they did with arrogance. He believed he was his brother's keeper, irrespective of colour.

A similar statement was made by Florence Duncan.

Finding all the accused except Barsel guilty, the magistrate said he accepted the evidence of Beyleveld and Ludi and rejected that of the accused. He sentenced Eli Weinberg and Ivan Schermbrucker to five years as members of the Central Committee of the Party; Esther Barsel, Norman Levy, Lewis Baker and Jean Middleton to three years as Area Committee members; Ann Nicholson, Paul Trewhela, Sylvia Neame, Florence Duncan and Molly Doyle to two years as rank and file members. Dr. Gazides was sentenced to a year as 'a new recruit'. The magistrate made no finding in the case of Abram Fischer.

There was pandemonium in the court after the accused had been sentenced. The accused and spectators sang *Nkosi Sikekel' iAfrika*, gave the clenched fist salute and shouted the slogan 'Amandhla Ngawethu' (Power is Ours). Security police had to enter the dock to hustle the accused down to the cells by force.

Six of the accused have since noted appeals against their conviction and sentence. They are Ivan Schermbrucker, Eli Weinberg, Esther Barsel, Norman Levy, Lewis Baker and Molly Doyle—the six who constantly denied throughout the trial that they had ever been members of the underground party. The six accused who admitted membership of the Party are not appealing. They are Jean Middleton, Costa Gazides, Ann Nicholson, Paul Trewhela, Sylvia Neame and Florence Duncan.

Guilty or not guilty in terms of a vicious law, there is no doubt that in the eyes of the majority of the South African people the accused do not appear as criminals, but as fighters for the liberation of the oppressed and for the building of a free South Africa in which people of all races will enjoy equal rights and opportunities. The victims of racialist tyranny today, they will be honoured as heroes in the South Africa of the future. All have played a brave and honourable role in the freedom struggle of the South African people and their sacrifices will not be forgotten.

AFRICA

Notes on Current Events

RHODESIA The overwhelming victory in an almost exclusively white election of Mr. Ian Smith's white supremacist government has brought the Rhodesian conflict to a critical point. In Parliament, the opposition party M.P.s are almost all Africans—ten members of the Rhodesia Party whose white candidates were rejected everywhere by the white electorate, and one lone white independent. Outside of Parliament, the police-state methods by which Mr. Smith keeps himself in power have been extended since the election. Two large areas of the country, Nuanetsi—which includes the area where many African national leaders are in detention—and Lupane have been declared to be in a state of emergency. Troops have sealed off both areas, and all visitors to the national leaders including Mr. Joshua Nkomo, have been removed from the area. The government has issued new regulations empowering the police to ban newspapers, placards, circulars or other printed matter, and a card issued to visitors to Mr. Nkomo showing his picture has already been banned. Anyone found in either of the emergency areas can be detained or ordered out of the area by the police.

A government statement excused this action by saying that '. . . it appears that action has been taken or is immediately threatened by certain persons which is of such a nature and on so extensive a scale as to be likely to endanger public safety, disturb or interfere with public order, and interfere with the maintenance of essential services'.

Mr. Leo Baron, the white lawyer who has appeared several times in court on behalf of Mr. Nkomo has been restricted to the Bulawayo area. Mr. Baron, the first white restricted in Rhodesia, says that the order will 'gravely prejudice Mr. Nkomo in his legal battles with the Government'. Mr. Baron has also been prevented from appearing in two other court applications made by detained persons, who now number about 1,000.

Petitioners from Rhodesia who appeared before the U.N. committee on colonialism alleged they had been chained, flogged and tortured in Nyanyadzi prison.

TANZANIA The Zanzibar Revolutionary Council has approved a new constitution for the island, which places the Afro-Shirazi Party in a position of authority over the ministers of the government. The Constitution, which provides for the setting up of widely-based committees with popular support, is designed to give a broader democratic base to the Government without endangering the gains of the revolution. The central committee of the Party will be headed by Tanzania's Vice-President Abeid Karume, and will include representatives of the police, army and women's and youth organizations. Under the central committee's directions, national committees and special committees to control the island's economy, education, finance, security and international policy will be set up. All political parties, other than the Afro-Shirazi Party will become illegal, and the Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions will shortly be dissolved and its functions fall under a special labour committee.

BECHUANALAND In the first elections since the granting of formal self-government, the Bechuanaland Democratic Party headed by Seretse Khama, has scored an overwhelming victory over its two main opponents, the Bechuanaland People's Party and the Botswana Independence Party. The B.D.P. has had the support of members of the white minority of Bechuanaland, and managed to mount a formidable campaign with the resources and finances thus available to it.

BASUTOLAND The conservative Basutoland National Party scored a narrow victory over the Basutoland Congress Party and the Marematlou Freedom Party in the country's first elections based on direct universal suffrage. Though the B.N.P. leader Chief Jonathan Lebua was defeated in his constituency, a government has been formed with Chief Sekhonyana Maseribane as Prime Minister. It has been at pains to stress its desire for co-operation with the Verwoerd regime. The B.C.P. has claimed that the election results were fraudulent, and influenced by the intervention of agents of the Verwoerd regime. Local commentators however declare that the main reason for the right-wing victory over the former majority B.C.P. is that the B.C.P. played into the National

Party's hands by indulging in wild red-baiting attacks on left-wing elements in the country and on supporters of South Africa's African National Congress, thus appearing to bolster the National Party's strongly anti-communist policy. The National Party has received substantial support from the strong Catholic missions in the country, and indulged in a smearing campaign, accusing all its opponents of 'communism'. This smearing has paid dividends, in winning the party official, church and South African support; the Catholic church mobilized the votes of the womenfolk, who are generally more parochial and more influenced by church and tribalism than the menfolk, who have known the widening influence of work in the South African cities and mines.

KENYA A shipment of arms from the U.S.S.R. which had been unloaded at Mombasa as a Soviet gift for the Kenya army have been returned by the Kenyan government. President Kenyatta, in a statement which appeared to be deliberately insulting, said the arms were '. . . too old and second-hand and no use to the modern army of Kenya. . . .' This lame explanation for the rejection of what was clearly an agreed and prearranged shipment came after conservative members of the Kenya legislature had launched a heavy attack on the arms shipment, suggesting that the arms were intended for some subversive purposes.

The rejection of the Soviet gift appears to be linked with the consistent campaign which has been launched both by the Western press and by certain conservative M.P.s in Kenya—including Mr. Ronald Ngala, former opposition leader who recently climbed on the KANU government bandwagon—against Vice-President Oginga Odinga. Mr. Odinga, widely regarded as the leader of Kenya's socialist left-wing in the national movement, has alleged variously—that the arms were part of a private preparation for an Odinga putsch; that Mr. Odinga's office has been raided by security police; that Odinga's followers are secretly arming for a new revolutionary upheaval; that Mr. Odinga is using his cabinet position to promote communism, etc. The campaigners scored their most significant victory with the rejection of the Russian arms, and followed it up with a campaign to have Mr. Odinga removed from the country's delegation to the Commonwealth Premiers Conference—a campaign to which Mr. Kenyatta has capitulated.

President Kenyatta himself has opened an attack on Mr. Bildad Kaggia, head of the Lumumba institute, which was established with

Soviet aid in order to train cadres and functionaries for the Kenyan national movement. He accused Mr. Kaggia of 'unsettling the population by saying they should have free land'. The Lumumba institute has since been taken over by the Government. Mr. Kenyatta's recent speeches have attacked the concept that 'there is no danger of imperialism from the east'—a line of policy which has encouraged his more right-wing supporters to go further. Mr. Tom Mboya has followed on with statements that 'much lip service has been paid in some communist quarters to giving economic assistance', but that, in fact, Kenya's present development has been made possible by the West, Britain, West Germany and the United States. '. . . merely because the communist countries have never had an African colony' he told a meeting of KANU delegates at Nankuru, 'it does not mean they have no cold-war designs on Africa.' He has launched an attack also on the assistant Minister of Finance, Mr. Okelo Odongo, for suggesting that Kenya should lean more towards the Socialist bloc than she now does. In this atmosphere of inner-party struggle, five M.P.s have called for Mr. Odinga's resignation from the government, and also for the dismissal of Mr. Bildad Kaggia from Parliament for advocating 'the wrong kind of socialism'.

Kenya's Finance Minister, Mr. James Gichuru and the only white Cabinet Minister, Mr. Bruce Mackenzie, arrived back in Kenya at the end of March, with pledges of £41 million of 'aid' from Western Europe and America. Mr. Gichuru said: 'This was our most successful finance raising trip'. He said several companies in the U.S.A. and West Germany wanted to invest in joint ventures with the Kenya government. Money was available to Kenya because its government had won a reputation for political stability. 'What we want' he said 'is people who promise us money and deliver the goods—not people who offer empty slogans'.

ZAMBIA Following a five-day strike of railway workers which cut Zambia's vital trade route through Southern Rhodesia in April, President Kaunda made a strong attack on those responsible for the strike, and in particular on Mr. Harry Nkumbula, leader of the opposition African National Congress. He warned that the government would, if necessary, take strong, even dictatorial powers to eliminate foreign interference in the country, which he said was being assisted by strikes which were deliberately designed to undermine Zambia's economy. The Zambian trade unions, he said, had failed to help the Zambian workers. Instead, by taking the law into their own hands they were destroying their own chances, and deceiving the people.

EGYPT An announcement in the Cairo daily *Al Ahram* says that the illegal Egyptian Communist Party has decided to dissolve itself, and to join the ranks of the Arab Socialist Union (A.S.U.). The Party, banned together with all other Egyptian political parties in 1953, had issued a statement saying that, since its formation in 1962, the Arab Socialist Union was the only political organization capable of organizing political action in Egypt, and of carrying on the national revolution in all national, economic, social and cultural spheres.

A Tribute to I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson

A TRUE SON OF AFRICA

Bankole Akpata

IT WAS WITH a sense of deep shock and sadness that the opening session of the Fourth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, heard of the death of the veteran African revolutionary nationalist fighter and journalist, Mr. I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson following a car accident in which he was involved on Saturday, May 8th in Accra.

Isaac Theophilus Akunna Wallace-Johnson was born seventy-one years ago in Freetown, Sierra Leone. After receiving his early education in both primary and secondary schools in Freetown, the young Wallace-Johnson first entered the then Colonial civil service in Sierra Leone as a Customs Officer.

It was in the Customs that he first saw the great disparity between the salary and service conditions of African employees and their European counterparts.

The African was, of course, paid a pittance as compared with the huge salaries received by the Europeans. When Wallace-Johnson protested at the obvious injustice of this facet of the colonial system, he was promptly dismissed.

From about the year 1928 Wallace-Johnson travelled abroad as a seaman. This voyage took him to India, China, Japan, the U.S.A., South America and finally ended in Britain.

During his sojourn in Britain he took a course of studies in political science and journalism. It was at this period that Wallace-Johnson met Mr. Jomo Kenyatta (now President of Kenya) and the late Mr. George Padmore.

The three men became firm friends and in 1931 they went to the Soviet Union where they studied first at the People's University of the East, later finishing in Moscow University.

From being a rebel against the colonial system, Wallace-Johnson through his study and experience in the U.S.S.R. became a Marxist.

After their sojourn in the Soviet Union, Wallace-Johnson travelled back to England from where he returned to West Africa in 1933. During a short stay in Lagos, Nigeria, he organized the first trade union in West Africa—Nigerian Workers' Union.

This Union also published a weekly newspaper—*The Nigerian Worker*. Within a few weeks of its appearance the colonial authorities became so scared of Wallace-Johnson's influence among the Nigerian masses that the governor deported him. By the end of 1933 Wallace-Johnson arrived in Accra.

With characteristic energy and drive Wallace-Johnson went about his political and trade-union work in Accra. In February 1934, he organized and founded the Gold Coast Motor Drivers' Union. In March, 1934, he founded the West African Youth League, a political organization which later established branches in Nigeria, Gambia and Sierra Leone.

It was during the same month, i.e. March 1934, that Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe arrived in the then Gold Coast from the U.S.A. and took up the editorship of the *African Morning Post*.

Wallace-Johnson was a regular contributor to the *African Morning Post* and through this association he and Dr. Azikiwe became firm friends.

It was through their work and collaboration on the *African Morning Post* that led to the now famous sedition case against both Wallace-Johnson and Dr. Azikiwe following the publication of the article 'Has the African a God?' in the issue of June 3rd, 1935, of the *African Morning Post*.

From the latter part of 1935 when Wallace-Johnson went back to England till his return home to Sierra Leone in the summer of 1939, he organized the 'International African Service Bureau' with Mr. Jomo Kenyatta and the late Mr. George Padmore.

This organization disseminated information to the British public about the inhuman conditions prevailing in the British Colonies and demanded reforms.

On his return home to Freetown in 1939 Wallace-Johnson founded the *African Standard* as the official organ of the West African League (Sierra Leone section). With his trenchant pen and incisive language Wallace-Johnson championed the rights of the African people and demanded freedom and independence for the colonies.

A former colonial governor of Sierra Leone was so openly sympathetic to Nazi Germany that he was recalled to London following startling disclosures Wallace-Johnson published in the *African Standard*.

After the outbreak of the second world war on September 3rd, 1939, the colonial authorities interned Wallace-Johnson as a dangerous agitator in Sherbro island (just off Sierra Leone mainland). From his internment camp Wallace-Johnson continued to write for his newspaper the *African Standard* at Number 7, Trelawney Street, Freetown. This office of his paper became the centre of nationalist activities even during his internment.

As he had done both in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, Wallace-Johnson also organized the workers of Sierra Leone and established the Sierra Leone Trades Union Congress.

Towards the end of the war when workers' leaders from the allied countries and their colonies met in London in February, 1945 to lay the foundation for the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.) Wallace-Johnson as the leader of the Sierra Leone T.U.C. was invited by the organizers of the conference, and as a result of pressure by African organizations in Britain assisted by some progressive British organizations and people, the colonial office ordered the release of Wallace-Johnson who attended the conference.

The end of the war found Wallace-Johnson still in England. He led the Sierra Leone delegation to the Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester in October, 1945.

In December 1945 when the West African delegates to the Fifth Pan-African Congress met and formed the West African National Secretariat, Wallace-Johnson was elected its Chairman and Kwame Nkrumah was elected the Secretary-General.

On his return home to Sierra Leone in 1946 Wallace-Johnson intensified his efforts in the struggle for freedom and independence for his beloved Sierra Leone. He was for many years a member of the Sierra Leone Legislative Council and later a member of the House of Representatives.

Wallace-Johnson was a man of many parts—author, journalist, poet, politician and a fearless fighter for African Unity. With his death Africa has lost a great son, a man whose integrity and dedication to the cause of African liberation and Unity was always a source of inspiration to the younger generation.

Wallace-Johnson like a soldier of the African Revolution died in the front-line of battle on his way to attend the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Winneba. The greatest monument we can erect to his memory is to work indefatigably for the early realization of a Continental Union Government of AFRICA.

From *The Spark*, Accra

Africa & Democracy

Continuing the Discussion from previous issues of *the African Communist*

NIGERIA AND 'WESTMINSTER TYPE' PARLIAMENTARISM

Alex Chima

NIGERIA TO SOME observers has been a stable democracy fashioned on the 'Westminster Model', albeit Western political philosophy. The disturbances in the country during the election revealed this statement to be erroneous. Nigeria has always played the reactionary role in domestic as well as international politics. She has consistently favoured Tshombe's rule in the Congo, and has also placed all sorts of obstacles to prevent the advance of African Unity. In her domestic politics she is feudalistic and there is also an element of class formation in the Society. What is responsible for all these is due to the fact that she has committed herself to following the Westminster Model. For the Marxists is it very essential to examine this model in detail.

THE NATURE OF 'WESTMINSTER MODEL'

In the main, the constitutional structure with which Nigeria was endowed at independence served four purposes:

(1) To facilitate the transfer of power to a substantial predetermined elite;

(2) To provide sets of principles and guide lines for the formal, mechanical operation of the government along lines favourable to foreign political and economic interests of both the imperialists and their elite counterpart in Nigeria;

(3) To assure as long as possible, a political balance between the predetermined elite on the one hand and their potential challengers on the other;

(4) To preserve the status quo in several regions through the protection of certain groups and through certain circumscribed and special kind of individual rights.

Everything went as planned for three years and there appeared to be peace and tranquillity in the realm. But in the month of June 1964 under the calm and serene atmosphere, the latent but simmering volcano erupted in form of a general strike which was a hundred per cent successful. This strike was significant in many ways. It was not only about wage agreement but also the sense of outrage the workers felt at the difference in the living standards between themselves and their masters. The 'bigmen'—Ministers, senior civil servants and employers enjoy an opulence now rare in Europe. Their enjoyment is unconcealed, and in large part unchecked by conscientious or religious scruple.

It is not only for a minimum wage of £12 a month that the workers have been striking; it is against the system in which twice that wage can, for the lucky few, be paid as a car allowance. The most significant thing of all is that the workers, for the first time were able to mobilize full strength and paralyzed the government activity completely. All at once the society was divided into two opposing camps, the rulers on the one hand and the workers on the other. The strike finally revealed that negotiated independence, although it represented an important advance and provides a jumping-off ground for further progress, does not automatically abolish the relics of colonialism. All anti-democratic practices built into the former imperialist state machine continue, especially as European cadres of this state apparatus are often retained for a considerable period after the independence.

The issue has already become complicated in the last eighteen months by the influx of American peace corps and overpaid teachers from other imperialist countries, generally graduates going to teach infant and primary classes. In the majority of cases language difficulty makes the whole venture a waste of revenue which is already overstretched.

In addition to specific anti-democratic laws and practices the retention, for a time, of the former régime (the actual constitutions which the newly independent state inherited have been drawn up in agreement with the former colonial power) naturally, therefore, bear the imprint of colonialism to a considerable extent. State structure, parliamentary procedure, legal systems, powers of the police—all in process of time, will be found inadequate for the aims of the new state, for the elimination of imperialism and building up flourishing economies. That is why the Africanization of the state apparatus becomes a major demand in all African states, and why these states increasingly find it necessary to change the constitution imposed on them.

WESTERN FORMS INADEQUATE

While amongst sections of rising Nigerian capitalist and petty bourgeoisie there is a certain tendency to copy some of the worst features of western forms of democracy and government, especially in the realm of parliamentary procedure, the experience of trying to make use of political independence to solve serious economic and social problems which have been left as the grim heritage of colonial system, is convincing the Nigerian people, their organizations and their most outstanding leaders, that western forms of democracy do not necessarily have much relevance in Africa's present circumstances. This was clearly spelt out in the discussions in March 1959 at a seminar held at Ibadan, Nigeria on 'Representative Government and National Progress' in which delegates from a number of different African territories took part. Although this was a discussion conference and no binding conclusions were reached or decisions taken, the deliberations clearly showed that

> nobody wanted merely to take over institutions inherited from the colonizing powers; everybody considered that there must be changes and adaptations and that newly independent countries must not be expected to govern themselves in the images of the European powers (*West Africa*, April 11th, 1959).

The inadequacy of the institutions of European capitalism for newly independent states has been sharply emphasized by President Sukarno of Indonesia in terms which have considerable relevance to the situation in Nigeria. Speaking at the University of Istanbul in April 1959, he said:

> We imitated the practice of Western countries in establishing a pattern of parliamentary liberal democracy which came straight from text-books of Western Europe and America. . . . We swallowed it and got violent indigestion. . . . The sickness grew worse, not better, and eventually it began to menace not only the health, but even the very life of the nation. . . . Something had to be done. We had to apply our own system of democracy, which is in harmony with the character of our nation. We had to make it possible for all sections of our society to participate in the function of government.

The programme of erecting a class structure in Nigeria started in full swing in 1946, quite apart from Lugard's idea of 'indirect rule' which perpetuates the position of decaying feudal overlords in the North and moribund chiefs in the South. In 1946, the Harragin Commission reviewed certain aspects of the public services and foresaw the creation of an upper class of executives of 'people who could make decisions and carry managerial functions'. The need for such an artificial class was believed to be urgent because 'the Nigeria society (was) an amorphous one, in which there was nothing like an upper class, middle class, and proletariat'. The Commission felt that an upper class was the *sine qua non* of political stability.

But the realities of class struggle proved this an illusion. The June 1964 strike which was a hundred per cent successful paralyzed the industrial output of the country for a fortnight. The federal election was principally a tussle between the feudal North (represented by the Northern Alliance) and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois of the South (represented by the United Grand Alliance). Practically, these parties are right wing in orientation.

However, the colonial régime developed an unbalanced salary structure which left the 'Senior Service' far above the rest as a special interest group. The creation of a House of Chiefs, although not a new programme in concept, was given legitimacy by constitutional arrangement and the much coverted title, Chief, becomes a mark of social distinction for any politician who makes money.

The formation of élite clubs, such as the African Tennis Club at Enugu Island Club, Lagos, have all proved to be a means of perpetuating the imperialist design of class structure.

MOVES WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED THROUGH CLASS FORMATION

Values and perspectives concomitant with the idea of class have no doubt appeared over the years. There is more emphasis on liberal education: law, bourgeois economics and accounting, history oriented in the Western tradition, all these are regarded with high esteem for the prestige value enjoyed by their adherents. Naturally less emphasis is placed on science and technology. The choice of liberal studies is, they say, a quick and easy way to power and money. This has also led to alienation—the élite on a high pedestal looking down on the workers and peasants as the scum of the earth. More emphasis on material things among the élite, for example cars, refrigerators, more whisky and promiscuity; and corruption in high and low places. This is manifestly true, as the Coker Commission showed. A number of people in Nigerian 'ruling circles' saw their country not as a society to be passionately believed in, but one which was more of a vehicle of personal advancement.

The introduction of the capitalist 'rat race' is a major weapon of neo-colonialism. Such a process does not always take place, and it certainly does not always happen overnight. Over a period of years, the British policy in Nigeria for example, gradually made positions open to Nigerians, utilizing the time gained to seek out the most likely allies, to feel its way, to find out and sound out people, doing things slowly enough to ensure that Britain reclaimed as much initiative as possible. The creation of Regional Marketing Boards in 1954 was intended to promote a capitalist class. The two great scandals which followed—the African Continental Bank Inquiry (Foster Sutton Commission) 1956, and the Western Region Marketing Board Inquiry (Coker Commission) 1962, all proved corruption and malversation on the part of the 'businessmen' who are in fact the political leaders and their supporters. In each case vast sums of money were scattered and dissipated.

In short, whenever the political assumptions of the colonial period have prevailed, government in Africa tends to mean an oligarchical élite whose members are sometimes bound together by traditional ties, but more often by a network of private interest and activities of the 'log rolling government'. The early years of Ghana's independence saw some remarkable developments in this direction, a veritable efflorescence of luxury living on a scale never thought possible before. Without the solid stand which leadership in Ghana had taken and the overwhelming support of the masses to fight corruption the situation would have deteriorated. Through mass education the people in Ghana have developed a proper attitude towards a corrupt official. The Young Pioneers are educated to ferret out and expose corruption in any quarter. This may have its dangers but its advantages outweigh them.

Nigeria is the home of 'dash' or bribery, and the position has worsened at an alarming rate. The ruling class and some of their supporters revel in it. The ruling class, being once again the capitalist protégés, find themselves completely impotent to do anything about it. They are now the living embodiment of the African version of Tammany Hall. They have found themselves slaves to a system which is essentially based on a capitalist concept of society. A system into which they have been propelled by foreign capitalists through constitutional design, coupled with personal greed and above all lack of vision by the rulers, all these failings have led to acquisitiveness, class mentality, anti-social attitudes unparalleled in the history of Africa.

The leaders—Azikiwe, Tafawa Balewa, Awolowo, Okotie Ebo, Okpara, Sardauna of Sokoto, and many more have all committed themselves to a capitalist road of development because they stand to benefit more from the system. These are indigenous money and property magnates in the country. If the system goes they are the ones who will feel the greatest pinch of all.

'Freedom and democracy' are the magic words which sustains a régime which allows the top dogs to spend the tax-payers' money freely for personal enjoyment and advancement. There are reports of the ruling class investing in London, New York, Paris and Swiss banks, while at the same time the country is groaning for investment capital. Freedom to live at Kkoyi, the Lagos garden suburb, apart from the masses who live in squalor and the sweltering heat at Idummota, Ajegunle, Ebute Metta, Idi-Oro.

It is a sort of arrangement which Hodgkin rightly termed 'urban apartheid'. If the price Nigeria has to pay for opting for the capitalist path of development is corruption, mass unemployment, superstition, the crippling millstone of poverty, stagnation, tribalism, and overwhelming illiteracy, then it is high time the system was cast overboard by progressive forces in the society. These are the evils which will not be eradicated by the present parliamentary and economic arrangement but by a socialist system. That is why there is an enormous task for the workers and the peasants to accomplish in Nigeria.

The solution to these major problems can only come about if the imperialists and their lackeys are overthrown by the masses and a socialist system is set up to take the place of the existing order. The enemy now causing confusion by retarding the progress of the people are the imperialists, the local bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, who have a vested interest in adhering to the system.

In waging its ideological warfare, imperialism uses a variety of slogans and arguments to mislead the African opinion. It encourages corruption and ideas of personal careerism, fosters all the worst, most commercialized and degraded aspects of western life. It preaches 'non-violence' and passive acceptance of suffering on the one hand and personal dictatorship on the other. It presses every divisive and disruptive demand into service, strives to turn Africa back to the obscurantism and narrow horizon of the past. Above all it beats on the drum of anti-communism. This is the secret weapon of neo-colonialism. Its aim is to isolate and put a wedge between the African States so that unity becomes mere wishful thinking.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

To carry through this great transformation of society, especially in a continent like Africa, which has been so terribly ravaged by imperialism for sixty years, requires enormous effort. Difficult as is the struggle to end colonial rule, the struggle to build a new Africa along socialist lines is still more difficult. Not only is it necessary to carry through this great change in the face of constant opposition and sabotage by forces of internal reaction—feudal and tribal leaders, career politicians, who are the hangers on of imperialism, local capitalists, who think more of their pockets and privileges than of the national interest. Equally one must overcome the people's force of habit: this 'terrible force' as Lenin termed it, continues long after the original conditions which gave rise to it have gone.

In Africa this means a struggle against tribalism, against petty parochial ideas, against superstitions of all kinds, against the self-centred ideas of small producers or farmers, against a contemptuous attitude towards women, against a whole range of ideas and habits of thought which hold man in thrall, stifle his initiative, keep him in ignorance, rob him of confidence and prevent him from utilizing his potential creative power in the interest of the whole people.

It is precisely to contend with such difficulties that the working class and peasants need to establish a leading role, to use the power of the state to guide the whole people in the building of a new life. The state is not merely a weapon to safeguard the new people's power and crush the enemy; it is even more a powerful educative and constructive weapon to enable men to transform society and thus in the process transform themselves.

One can readily see what a heavy and difficult responsibility rests on the back of the working class. Such a historic task can be performed only by a class which has a body of scientific theory, a theory based on the experience of the struggle for socialism throughout the world, from which the general laws of universal validity has been established. Such a science is Marxism-Leninism and to wield this weapon the working class must be organized politically, must have the responsibility of championing its political viewpoint.

To achieve socialism, the working class has to rally around itself all the progressive forces in society. In underdeveloped regions of Africa, this means uniting with the peasantry who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry will provide a bedrock on which the unity of all progressive forces will be based.

To ensure that political power is in the hands of the people guided by the working class, it is not enough to enjoy universal franchise and other election rights and to be able to exercise democratic freedoms; the key is to win state power, to direct the whole apparatus of government and state, including the armed forces and the police, which, if left in the hands of pro-imperialist or capitalist forces, can be turned against the workers and peasants and their organizations. The first step in effecting this change in the control of the state is the struggle for Africanization, that is, to clear out the remaining cadres of imperialism from the state apparatus; but this is only a first step, which must be followed by a change in the class character of the state, if progress is to be made towards socialism.

With the means of production in the hands of the people, and with the decisive sections of the economy in the hands of the state, production can be planned, instead of being left to anarchy of private profit interests; and further, the main aim of production becomes that of satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the people and no longer that of filling the pockets of private capitalists, whether foreign or indigenous.

A PEOPLE'S PARLIAMENT

G. Chukuka Eke

I have always found the AFRICAN COMMUNIST lucrative and inspiring to every progressive youth of our time. There is an impressive high understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the fact that Africa at this age needs such an element of world outlook.

In a recent issue you challenged interested readers to a political discussion on democracy and Africa: In this I beg to participate.

Comrade Mokwugo Okoye stimulated the nerves of most readers with his assembled panel of accuracy that provokes thoughts. Though I may not go so far as comrade Okoye, yet I wish to confine myself with two terms.

What really does Africa need at this era? Does Africa need that brand of 'Parliamentary Democracy' or a brand of 'National Democracy'? History shows that the so-called parliamentary democracy has failed to solve the vital problems confronting a nation.

Let us dwell on the definition of a state.

As we all know, a state is a political power-instrument of the economically ruling classes. It means that democracy in the imperialist countries is a screen for the very real dictatorship of the big capitalist monopolies, directed against the working class, against the working people. Here, power is often disguised by a democratic appearance: there are regular general elections, the government is responsible to parliament. The face of this power is revealed as soon as the working masses become conscious of their class interests and begin to present demands to the governments. Then the advocates of parliamentary democracy do not shrink from sending troops and police against the workers, opening fire on peaceful demonstrations, arresting workers' leaders. Should it reach higher dimensions, they resort to open terroristic methods.

This is parliamentary democracy which leaves the masses only one great realm of freedom—that of imagination, fantasy in the dream world of unreality, sickliness and in death. It is full of early deaths, suicides, insanity and corruption.

Must a liberating Africa contest for a parliamentary democracy? NO.

The world capitalist camp has always declared democracy to presuppose the struggle of parties, a parliamentary opposition and proclaimed the one-party system and proletarian democracy as undemocratic systems. Having parliamentary opposition could be logically debated. What warrants an opposition party in the parliament? Is it not owing to the development of class-differences? This is more reason why parliamentary democracy cannot and could not have been a government of the people, by the people.

As I have defined a state above, we Marxists judge the democratic character of a political system in a different way. The criterion that must be applied is: whose interests does the power defend, whom does it serve, what policy does it pursue, whom does the power belong to?

Liberating African states do not want parliamentary democracy of lazy big bellies who waste what toiling hands have won.

The next assignment of African states after the attainment of political independence is the struggle for economic independence and national progress. The policy of 'National Democracy' aims at eliminating exploitation of man by man, raising the living standards and cultural level of the masses. A state of national democracy is an alliance of all different classes with progressive forces full of revolutionary potentialities in a united front. This united front stands in struggle against all reactionary forces both inside and outside which are pro-imperialist, thereby defending universal peace and strengthening international friendship. This will surely accord with the most vital aspirations of the popular masses, of all progressive people, hence it will enhance democracy for the working people on an unprecedented scale and finally it leads to proletarian democracy. Of course, such a front could only be recommended to those independent African states, where a multi-party system exists, e.g. Nigeria, Morocco, etc.

Seeing the evils which lie behind parliamentary democracy, we stand against such a system. Nevertheless, we do not mean to undermine the sense of having a parliament. We Marxists need a Parliament which represents the interests of the masses, the patriotic toiling people; such a Parliament which advocates the refinement and emancipation of man, and finally which ranges itself alongside all the many governments already taking part to see that lovely day when human freedom is the right of all people everywhere. Only then the parliament could play a real democratic role.

The course of Africa in our epoch is devoted to that of socialism. This entails rebuilding the whole of social life from top to bottom. This is an extremely complicated task, and its fulfilment is only possible, if the broadest strata of the population consciously participate in the construction of the new society.

Active participation of the working class in the execution of the state economic plans and in the management of the industries is an impressive expression of democracy. This being the case, those independent African states, e.g., Ghana, Mali, etc., which are ruled by one-party systems with full rights of self-determination of the masses, have been in no doubt practising democracy.

In our days, under new conditions, the patriotism of the working class, inseparable from proletarian internationalism, has become a particularly active and powerful force. V. I. Lenin wrote in 1908: 'The given political, cultural and social environment is the most powerful factor in the struggle of the Proletariat'.

Therefore in defence of national independence, the working people should not be indifferent to and unconcerned about political, social, and cultural conditions of its struggle and consequently cannot remain indifferent to the fate of their country. This should be our own democracy in Africa.

FACTS ON ANGOLA

We have pleasure in publishing an article prepared by a group of Angolans who have set up a Study Centre with a view to issuing accurate and authoritative information on the actual conditions existing in Angola. The article has been translated, in somewhat abbreviated form, from *Angola, Cultura e Revolucao*, issued by the *Centro de estudos angolanos* in Algiers.

> The liberation struggle poses demands which require boldness in action and in thought. And boldness can give rise to over-hastiness, the source of imperfections and errors. . . .
> No matter! The movement proves its mettle on the march. In these days it is still better to stumble than to remain seated. Quick march!
>
> Majhemout Diop.

THE ANGOLAN POPULATION can be divided into two groups, Europeans and Africans. In 1960 the former numbered 172,000, the latter 4,600,000. Since the employers, administrators, skilled workers are all European, while the workers and peasants are African, official 'per capita' statistics are distorted and conceal class inequalities.

For instance, the cost-of-living index includes various foodstuffs, but there is a sharp division between what Europeans eat and what Africans eat. The Europeans consume the wheat, butter, milk, sugar and coffee, while the Africans exist on manioc, maize, palm oil and a little dried fish.

In any case, the bulk of the peasantry is never counted in official statistics.

In this article we set out to expose the living standards of the Angolan African population, putting special emphasis on the low quantity and quality of their food consumption.

For this purpose we divide the African population into three groups:

(i) urban proletariat and the very few petit-bourgeois and civil servants—who buy their own food:
(ii) farm workers (both voluntary and forced labour): miners, some of whom receive rations from the employer: half of their wages is spent at company stores, while the remainder is paid out when they return to their homes:
(iii) finally, the peasantry who, for the most part, live on their own produce, supplemented, when possible, by purchases from the stores.

Before giving details of the economic and social conditions of the three African groups, it should be pointed out that in Angola only 47 per cent of the population is economically 'active'. The colonialists claim that, because of high birth and death rates in the rural communities, the number of dependants or 'inactives' is uncommonly high and the economy must carry them.

In fact each worker must support one dependant.

We should note, however, that, no matter how desperate the struggle to feed workers and their dependants, Angolan exports are loaded with foodstuffs.

THE PEASANTRY

1. Conditions governing food consumption

The Angolan rural economy is a subsistence economy—the cultivators consume what they produce. When there is a surplus, it goes to buy necessities, such as knives, clothing, bedclothes. When there is no surplus, life is just a matter of getting food. If the rain holds off, famine sets in with all its tragic consequences. For instance, in the stock-raising areas of South-West and South Angola, drought is revealed by the increased number of cattle for sale at the markets. The colonialists pretend that the Africans are interested in cattle solely as symbols of prestige, but cattle represent to the peasants the sole means of achieving a surplus from their toil. Drought to them is the major problem.

Drought, low productivity and their inability to cope with climatic extremes render the peasants an easy prey for colonialist exploitation. There is no hopeful prospect for the peasant. He is trapped forever in a vicious circle of misery and low productivity.

The colonialists analyse the situation thus: the backward economy, due to under-exploitation of natural resources, leads to low productivity, which leads to low yields, small surpluses, low purchasing power, therefore little investment, therefore a backward economy and so on round the circle again.

But this glib analysis hides the real situation: out of date implements, difficult land (the colonialists have taken the best) crude methods, absence of agricultural schools, lack of granaries, and absence of safeguards against the ravages of nature all lead to low productivity and the forcing of workers off the land.

To these obstacles must be added the load of permanent debts carried by the small farmers, debts that are added to by government taxes and penalties that must be paid in cash, e.g. the tax on home-produced wine, the fines for drunkenness, the cash payment for permits to hold traditional celebrations, etc. The hard fact is the peasants rarely have real cash in their hands. There is no cash to buy new equipment or anything else. There is, in truth, little purchasing power to stimulate the economy: therefore there is scant investment in agriculture: therefore agriculture stagnates.

It goes without saying that peasant food consumption is low. The peasant depends on natural sources, mostly gathered food; little is cultivated.

The existing conditions produce a class of under-nourished land-workers, many of whom are forced into the towns, thereby turning agriculture into a migratory occupation and, at the same time, swelling the ranks of work-seekers in the towns. Often the migrants seek work in neighbouring territories, where indeed the Angolans in some spheres make up the bulk of the labour force.

2. Further details

In addition to mere subsistence farming, some peasants engage in growing crops for the market, mostly one-crop production, e.g. coffee, cotton or maize (in Central and Northern Angola.)

African coffee-growers immediately come into competition with European coffee-growers—and the odds are against the Africans, as the following official figures witness: during the years 1959-61 European production increased 48 per cent while African production decreased 5 per cent. (85 per cent of European production came from big landowners.)

The picture is different with maize, there being five times as many African cultivators as European. The explanation lies in the low profitability of maize, despite the demand to feed manual workers and the demand for export. African maize farmers go in for other crops on a small scale, e.g. haricots, but the markets for such produce (except maize) are fixed against the African grower.

Cotton is largely produced by African farmers, but the conditions of land occupation and the fixing of the market prices by the monopolists resulted in 1961 in each African cotton producer receiving a cash return of £12. On this ridiculous figure the farmer must support at least one dependant. Consequently, in common with all the poor farmers, he turns to growing manioc, which needs little labour, but which—be it noted—is appallingly low in nutrition value.

THE URBAN PROLETARIAT

1. Factory Workers

According to 1962 figures there were 60,000 employees in 3,000 concerns, of whom 49,000 were Africans and 11,000 Europeans. The Europeans are the administrators and technicians. Let us repeat that lumping their salaries with African wages serves to raise the average figure.

(*a*) *African purchasing power*

Although official figures do not separate African wages from Europeans, it is possible to estimate wages by analysing statistics concerning TEXTANG, a textile company. This analysis gives 23 escudos (5s. 8d.) as the average daily wage for an African worker. (In any case, we know from experience that the average daily wage is around 20 escudos.)

Sociologists postulate an average African family as comprising, in addition to the breadwinner, a wife, one child (7 to 14 years) and one child (2 to 3 years) (cf. the Kenya Carpenter Report of 1954 which recommended a 'family' salary on this basis).

This figure implies food consumption 2.5 times that of an individual. But the Portuguese law—pretentious and unrealistic—allows for a family food consumption of 2.85 times that of an individual. (These figures apply only where the husband is fed by his employer.) We will use the figure of 2.85, but will show its impracticability later in this article.

Let us return to the TEXTANG worker.

Twenty-three escudos a day is the maximum the family can count on for food, clothing, shelter, transport, taxes, illness, schooling, etc. After allowing for tax, rent, soap, heat, light and clothing, the family have 14. One escudo for food, consisting of manioc and manioc leaves, dried fish, beans, palm-oil, and matete—a mixture of manioc and sugar.

The worker sees his family malnourished, victims to every illness. Faced with possible wage-cuts and unemployment, the worker in Luanda is trapped in misery from which, under existing circumstances, he cannot escape.

To supplement the family income his wife goes to work at a starvation wage. (Since there are no kindergartens or nursery schools, the children are left to look after themselves.) If the wife is lucky, she may find work in a factory and earn 10 to 15 escudos a day. More often she takes in washing for ridiculous payment.

What about promotion and higher wages? This is only rarely possible. Even if an African advances socially so that he is *assimilated*—a step detested by thinking people—he finds himself confronted with the prospect of unemployment. Since the employer is now obliged to pay him European wages, he prefers to give the job to a European.

(*b*) *Degree of Exploitation*

It is difficult to asses the surplus-value extorted from Angolan workers, but, again using TEXTANG wages as a guide, the following table gives the share-out of the gross income of the manufacturing industry:

Capitalists, 4.5 per cent of personnel in the industry, take 63.2 per cent.

European workers, 17.6 per cent of personnel in the industry, take 18.2 per cent.

African workers, 77.9 per cent of personnel in the industry, take 18.6 per cent.

2. Mine Workers

An analysis of official figures on the mining industry reveals that the average daily wage for African workers is 12 escudos (3s.).

(*a*) *Food consumption on the mines—in theory and in practice*

The law recognizes a worker only after he has served six months with the same firm: the law also lays down that a worker must be fed by his employer. Going further, the law prescribes diets which are richer in protein and calories than the diets laid down by the F.A.O., as absolute minimum.

Taking F.A.O. diets as 100 per cent, the average calorie content of Angolan prescribed diets is 138 per cent and proteins 300 per cent. Diet No. 1. for instance, prescribes maize flour, fresh meat, dried fish, milk, beans, manioc leaves, ground nuts, palm oil and oranges, giving more calories and proteins than F.A.O. diets.

But practice does not keep up with the law's demands.

In the first place, employers quote the F.A.O. tables as an excuse to break the law. Other verifiable facts expose the utopian character of the law. Take the case of dried fish.

In 1962 some 20,618 tons were produced. Allowing for exports and imports there were 9,544 tons for home consumption. Now, the official diets refer solely to the 'contratados' (forced labourers) numbering 370,000. If they consumed every ounce of the total annual tonnage for home consumption, each man would receive 70 grammes of dried fish a day, already below the 100 grammes demanded by the law. (If you divide the dried fish among the entire working population, there would be a daily ration of 11 grammes per worker—and this does not take into account the 53 per cent of the population not in employment.)

And so the law is a delusion.

And this is true of other foodstuffs, because agricultural produce is generally grown for export, leaving a minimum amount for home consumption.

And even this amount is disproportionately divided between Europeans and Africans, since the well-off Europeans have the cash to buy whatever is available. Fresh meat consumption, for instance, is highest per capita where Europeans are concentrated. In fact the whites in Angola have a higher per capita fresh meat consumption than the people of Lisbon and Oporto. In actual practice the African workers in the mining industry simply do not eat meat, oranges and milk and get far less of the other items than the law prescribes.

In the Companhia dos Diamantes d'Angola workers are fed for 4.7 escudos per day. Our figures for the 'family' wage of a factory worker allowed as a minimum for food for an adult 5.6 escudos per day.

And so the law is a delusion.

(*b*) *Degree of Exploitation*

On all sides one hears—even sometimes from the colonialists—that the African's low productivity is due to malnutrition, his weak physical condition. But it is also due to the fact that the African never shares in the wealth he produces. In 1961 only 17 per cent of gross income went on wages.

The 'shark' of the mining industry is the international monopoly, the Companhia dos Diamantes d'Angola. A confidential report of a governor of Malanje—just dismissed from his position and therefore in conflict with the company—stated that the company's wages were systematically the lowest in the country. Workers were getting 1,200 escudos a year (£15) plus a little more than that in food.

Other figures for 1958 show that the company paid out nearly as much in recruiting and transporting its workers as it did in wages and rations. In 1958 a trade inspector disclosed that the company was buying foodstuffs from African farmers at illegally low prices and was selling goods to the same farmers at an unbelievable profit.

In diamond mining the surplus value achieved by the company was in 1958 523 per cent (dividing available profit by wages). In other words out of 12 hours work 2 hours are necessary labour time, 10 hours are given free to the company.

'Petrangol' (oil company) in 1964 grabbed a profit equal to 160 per cent of the value of the labour involved.

3. Workers in Agriculture

(*a*) *Forced labour*

If the condition of factory workers is tragic, the condition of agricultural workers is even more so.

Official figures for agricultural workers are not available. In 1960 the figure for paid workers was 554,000, which included both forced and voluntary labour.

Basil Davidson found in a 1955 report the figure of 379,000 forced labourers. Accepting this figure as authentic and allowing for the authorities' reluctant veering away from the forced labour system (thanks to the scandal abroad and mounting resistance at home), then we can assume the number of forced labourers still to be approximately the same, giving us a breakdown of wage earners: 68.4 per cent forced labour and 31.6 per cent voluntary labour.

This shows that colonial production is still based on forced labour.

This group of workers is mainly employed on the land, in the public services, railways, roads and mining. The great bulk of agricultural labour is forced in the interests of the big farmers and the agricultural companies.

Most land workers are found in the growing of coffee, sugar, sisal, tobacco and palm trees.

(*b*) *Workers in Coffee*

Coffee is both the country's principal export (44 per cent of the total) and the largest sphere of labour-exploitation. There are 89,545 workers on coffee farms, drawing a miserable wage and most of them enduring the wretchedness and the violence that go with forced labour. Many die: some escape: many are sent home physically unfit. The colonialists are mad with joy as each year coffee exports grow, but the producers do not even know the taste of coffee.

In 1959 the Government, fearing internal agitation, imposed new wage rates: 2,400 escudos per annum, plus (but not in all cases) a similar allowance for rations, i.e., 4,800 escudos (£60) or 13.2 escudos a day (3s. 4d.). But previously we have shown that the minimum food necessary for a typical family costs 14.1 escudos a day. So the coffee grower gets even less than that minimum: and, in any case, has nothing left for other expenses. But still this outline is too good to be true, for only occasionally are the workers fed by the employers.

(*c*) *Degree of Exploitation*

The degree of exploitation is revealed in the fact that in coffee-production the capitalists (2.2 per cent of the persons engaged) receive 63 per cent of the income, while the workers (97.8 per cent of persons engaged) receive 37 per cent of the income. But these figures are misleading, for they include for each worker a food allowance, which in reality is hardly ever spent by the employers.

The surplus-value produced by each worker is as follows: each worker produces per year over 1 ton of coffee to a value of 11,860 escudos. His salary is below 4,800 escudos. Therefore he produces 7,600 escudos surplus-value. Put in another way: for each hour of work necessary to produce the labourer's wages, he works free an additional 1½ hours for his employer.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

Colonialist oppression in Angola reveals itself most clearly in the African's low level of food consumption, in the poverty of his standard of living and in his physical condition, which is frequently deplorable. Under normal conditions, the peasant is better off for food than those who are at the mercy of the market economy, but that is not saying much. Even among the tribes (least subjected to colonialist influence) crops are determined by the demands of the market and technical know-how is hopelessly out of date.

The colonialists, of course, maintain that there is freedom of choice for the African peasants. 'The "natives",' say the colonialists, 'grow the crops which fetch the best prices.' But they forget the entire history of the relationship between, on the one hand, the crops grown and, on the other hand, the needs of the workers and the demands of the market.

Manioc is a case in point. It was introduced from America by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, when the slave-trade with America was of such great importance. In order to increase the work output of the slaves, the African population had to become physically stronger, acquiring a vigour which would at the same time ensure their purchase by the slave traders. Since in those days the Portuguese had contact only with the kingdoms of the Congo and Ngola, it was in these territories alone that manioc was developed. Today manioc cultivation is more or less confined to the same regions, where it is grown expressly to feed the workers on the cotton and coffee plantations, with a surplus for some industrial workers.

Maize, too, was introduced by the Portuguese at the end of the sixteenth century, when the new sugar industry at S. Tomé was absorbing all the labourers. So the reason for maize cultivation was to make labour cheaper. And let it not be forgotten that it was the Africans themselves who were furnishing the workers and their food. Starting at S. Tomé maize has spread to Luanda, Benguela and Mocamedes. It has become a basic foodstuff for forced labourers and an item for export.

Thus, 'freedom of choice according to market prices' most certainly does not operate for the Angolan peasants. On the contrary, they operate under a rigid control dictated by the interests of the colonialists, who are the only ones to profit.

With liberation this 'control' will be directed to serve the interests of the people. Today agricultural produce accounts for 67 per cent of Angola's exports. With liberation that situation will have to be rectified.

More or less violent means are used to increase the number of workers. Forced labour remains the basis of colonialist production. The degree of exploitation rises at the same rate as capitalist development: that is, industrialization spreads, prices mount, the working class grows larger, unemployment appears and migration to foreign countries increases . . . plenty of justification for the coffee workers in 1961 to rise up and shatter the tranquillity of the Portuguese colonialists.

Alongside the workers of Luanda and of the cotton-fields, they rose against oppression. They stood firm under the flag of the Revolution, despite the colonialists' savage suppression and the neo-colonialist pressures from those who were selling out the Angolan revolution in the imperialist market. The coffee workers belong to the Angolan labouring class, the most bitterly exploited social class, and, therefore, the most deeply committed.

Nor is there in the colonial set-up a future for the factory worker. Wherever he looks, he sees that he must throw in his lot with the united working class.

For this reason, on February 4th, 1961, the workers of Luanda and the militants from other African classes stormed the prisons, setting an example of conscience and courage to their countrymen.

For this reason the day approaches when the Angolan working class with the peasants will smash every form of imperialism and exploitation in their country.

Only the People's Revolution can cry halt to the obstructive aspects of growing exploitation. That is true. But only close attention to the objective conditions of the revolution in Angola can bring about a gradual elimination of misconceptions and a more and more powerful struggle which will culminate in victory.

BOOK REVIEWS

Axis to the Cape

Achse Zum Kap, by Eberhard Czaya

Berlin, German Democratic Republic

ONE OF THE WELCOME by-products of the heroic struggle being waged in South Africa against the hated, racist, apartheid policy is a flood of mostly informed literature about that country. Almost every week sees another book on this subject.

Most of these, while touching on the wider implications of the policies of Verwoerd's government, concentrate, in the main, on describing the conditions, problems, tensions and conflicts in South Africa itself arising from its whole history, and, especially, from the apartheid policy.

A new book—unfortunately as yet in German only—*Achse Zum Kap* (*Axis to the Cape*) by Eberhard Czaya, (Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1964), puts the problem in a wider, more international setting.

In the very first chapter the author outlines the essential political, economic and social features of South Africa today. Basing himself on the analysis made in the Programme of the South African Communist Party—*The Road to South African Freedom*—he develops in detail one of the key ideas in that document. This is that Black South Africa is a colony of White South Africa, that apartheid constitutes a new type of colonialism '. . . one in which the oppressing White nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed peoples themselves and lived side by side with them' (Programme: Section 3).

This chapter contains most useful background material. It outlines the history of the South African state. It traces the economic development of the country from the original position where the British cornered mining and finance and worked politically through the United Party, while the Boers concentrated on grabbing the land, to the present situation where British monopolies collaborate with international monopolies including American groupings which play a very important role in the economy*, and White South African monopoly capitalism is beginning to emerge and to extend its field of operations.

Thus the author cites the Volkskas Bank and the financial group, Sanlam/Santam with a paid-up capital of 125 million Rand. 'Volkskas has more than 180 branches in South and South-West Africa and controls at least 25 per cent of the South African economy'. (Czaya, p.12).

The operations—and huge profits—of British, German, American and Boer monopoly capital are all based on the inhuman exploitation, social degradation, denial of the most elementary social, political and human rights to the black and coloured majority, the details of which are fully enumerated.

As the author says:

> The main essence of the racialist policy practised in South Africa is to ensure the domination of the monopolies and of the white land-owners, to provide them with cheap labour and high profits. (ibid. p. 16).

This chapter serves as the essential basis for the author's main theme. This is the wider menace which Verwoerd's régime constitutes firstly to the other African States, especially to those which have won political independence from imperialism and secondly, to the peoples of the whole world. For today the apartheid government must be considered not in itself and by itself, but as a partner of Bonn, that is, of resurgent monopoly capitalism in Western Germany, which aims to 'make good' the defeat of its plans for world domination brought about by the outcome of the second world war.

The whole book in fact, is devoted to outlining in the greatest detail how each of these two reactionary governments supports and complements the other and of the great importance attached to South Africa by Western Germany today. This, although the aims and interests of the two countries are by no means identical and the world, the continent of Africa especially, is not quite the same place as it was in 1914 or 1939; which makes it difficult to carry out the old policies in the old ways. Further, the two powers are by no means equal in size, power, or importance. Bonn is by far the bigger and, on a world scale, the most dangerous fish.

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* ' . . . real power is in the hands of the monopolists who own and control the mines, the banks and finance houses and most of the farms and major industries. The gold and diamond mines are owned by seven mining-financial corporations and controlled by a handful of powerful financiers. These seven corporations are closely linked with British and American imperialist interests. . . . They are linked with the main banks . . . they own vast tracts of arable land and mining rights in almost every part of the country. In agriculture too, monopoly dominates. Four per cent of the farms make up an area amounting to almost 4/10ths of the total White-owned farmland, thus, in mining, industry, commerce, and farming, monopolists dominate the country's economy. . . . These monopolists are the real power in South Africa.' (Programme: Section 3).

Hence the partnership between Bonn and Pretoria needs to be seen in the context of Bonn's whole policy of revanchism, of most intractable opposition to any real fundamental step on the road to lessening world tension and to disarmament, of its claim to the restoration of Germany's 1939 frontiers, its effort to get its finger on the nuclear trigger, etc.

And it is the very real merit of this book that the policy of Bonn in South Africa today is shown to be the continuation of that of Hitler and of Kaiser Wilhelm before him. The aim, however, is not simply to secure a revival of German power in South Africa, but to use South Africa as a base for wider expansion throughout the African Continent as a whole and, as a result, to strengthen the position of West German monopoly capitalism on a world scale.

The partnership policy is fraught with contradictions and there is a big element of Bonn using Verwoerd and vice versa. Before the war, the extremist Boer nationalists looked to Hitler fascism to help them to destroy British domination and to acquire their own unrestricted rule over South Africa. In their turn, the Nazis looked to the most reactionary Boer organizations, especially to the 'Ossewa Brandwag' as their Fifth Column to help them win the whole of Africa.

Similarly, today, West German long-term aims with regard to strengthening its position in the newly liberated countries of Africa, participating in 'collective neo-colonialism' through the European Common Market are, as the author shows in the last chapter, inconsistent with the policy of exclusive and open partnership with Verwoerd. Nevertheless, these wider considerations are, at the moment, being subordinated to the immediate policy of far-reaching partnership which is being developed further day by day.

Verwoerd needs Bonn not only as a source for supplying capital, manufactured goods, arms and military equipment, technologists, administrators, etc., as well as immigrants of 'the right sort'. (The aim here is not simply to swell the White minority but to secure the immigration of people steeped in the Nazi, racist ideology to whom the practice of apartheid will come as second nature.) He needs it as one of the 'bigger' powers, a powerful State, economically and militarily, one occupying a leading position in the Western 'alliances' and groupings—NATO, the Common Market—on which he can lean. He needs its support in face of the growing political and economic boycott, the increasing isolation of South Africa, the almost universal execration to which the apartheid policy has given rise.

This is borne out by a statement made by Diedrichs, South African Minister for Economic Affairs, in discussions with Dr. Adenauer and Professor Erhard in Bonn in October 1960:—

'. . . closer economic collaboration with the European Common Market will become extraordinarily important should South Africa leave the Commonwealth . . .' (ibid. p. 107).

White South African Expansionism

He also needs it to further the expansionist aims of the White South African ruling class, throughout the whole of the African continent. These are—the establishment of a 'greater White South Africa' involving the annexation of other African States. The author indicates what these aims are in detail by quoting from an issue of *Afrika Woche* (*Africa Week*) (October 1951), a journal representing the section of the German minority in South Africa which looks to Bonn:

> What South Africa demands is only too natural. It demands, namely, the unification of all the countries of Africa up to the Sahara, and that under the leadership of the White South African race . . . the leadership of South Africa in the heartland of Africa must be recognized as necessary by all the White peoples of the world. (p. 59).

Bonn needs and uses Verwoerd in order to pursue the old, traditional German colonial policy, i.e. the extension of its economic, political and military hegemony over South Africa and through South Africa over the African continent as a whole. It also needs Verwoerd's South Africa as a most profitable base for the export of capital, for extending its commercial and industrial ascendancy there, especially *vis-à-vis* its old antagonist—British imperialism. Hence its special interest and activity in 'the Cape'.

It is this conjunction of momentary interests (concealing ultimately conflicting ones) which is the basis of the 'Bonn-Verwoerd partnership'.

And this partnership—as the author shows so well—is buttressed on the close ties which already existed before the first world war between reactionary Boer nationalism and the Germans who held what is now South-West Africa as a colony, on the still closer ties of reactionary fascist outlook which existed between the Nazis and the White South African racialists between the wars and which (along with the factors mentioned above) sustain it today.

The partnership is also facilitated by the fact that most of the leaders of the present Government and the National Party were educated in Germany, many of them in Hitler's time and 'were active as members of Hitler's Fifth Column in South Africa during the war'. 'Bonn's envoys and diplomats in South Africa are ex-Nazis almost to a man' (p. 63). Detailed accounts of the careers of a number of these diplomats are given which confirm this statement to the full.

Verwoerd's Government has made the most strenuous efforts to ease the path of German economic and political penetration of South Africa. In June 1962 the Government of South Africa decided to return all German property confiscated in South and South-West Africa during the second world war. This meant providing German firms with a vast sum of capital for the purpose of investment, buying up concerns, developing existing ones, etc.

In September, 1962 the South African Government granted a concession to a consortium of oil companies under West German leadership for oil prospecting in an area covering roughly 770,000 square kilometres, embracing the whole southern and eastern part of the Cape Province, almost the whole of the Orange Free State and the western part of Natal. (p. 6.)

Leading Ministers and industrialists have made visits to Germany urging closer economic relations between the two countries, the opening up of branches in South Africa and boosting the rich pickings which can be expected.

And Bonn, for its part, needed no urging. After all, South Africa has been a key place for German economic penetration since the earliest days of German colonialism. The German banks especially, have been foremost in furthering this policy. And one of the most important features of this book is the way it reveals this role of German finance capital in furthering German economic and political penetration in South Africa in the time of Wilhelm, in that of Hitler, and today. A West German-South African Chamber of Commerce was established in Johannesburg as far back as February 1949. The initiative for both economic penetration and political partnership was assumed by the finance group associated with the Deutsche Bank. From the beginning of 1962 West German economic penetration began to develop on a massive scale. For—amongst many other benefits—the social-economic relations in South Africa hold out the promise of colonial super-profit on a big scale to the monopolists. The Dusseldorf *Handelsblatt* (December 18th, 1962) spotlighted what would interest its readers most of all. It wrote 'the annual dividends paid out by South African undertakings are, as a rule, twice as high as those in the Federal Republic'. (p. 81).

In May 1962 the Deutsche Bank granted a credit of 40 million marks to the South African government. In July 1963 the state-controlled West German Kredit Anstalt granted the Palabora Mining Co. of Johannesburg a credit of 107½ million marks in connection with the opening up of copper deposits in the Transvaal.

All this was accompanied by a big extension of West German direct private investment in Africa which, according to statistics published by the West German Ministry of Economic Affairs, amounted to 316.9 million marks in the period 1952-62 or 6.3 per cent of total foreign investment. 'Of this amount, 88.5 million marks went to South Africa which occupies first place amongst all the countries of the continent for investment by West German monopoly capital.' (p. 93.)

The results are to be seen firstly in the trade figures. West German imports from South Africa which had been increasing annually, rose by 15 per cent in 1962 compared with 1961. They rose by a further 13 per cent in 1963. By 1957, West German exports to South Africa had already reached the level attained by Hitler Germany in 1938, i.e. 8.1 per cent of total German exports. By 1961 this had risen to 10.1 per cent. Western Germany had a favourable trade balance of 267.6 million marks with South Africa in 1963, (statistical tables p. 268). And secondly, all this has been at the expense of other imperialist monopoly groupings, especially British. Cars are a case in point. 'Britain has been driven from first place in car sales by Western Germany. In 1960 37 per cent of imported cars were West German and only 35 per cent were British' (p. 107).

A Military Partnership

But Bonn is not only interested in economic penetration. The author reveals an even more sinister aspect of the partnership, namely the military one.

> Leading German military experts have for a long time supported South African plans for the establishment of a colonial fascist military alliance called S.A.T.O. (South Atlantic Treaty Organisation, or South Atlantic Pact) which will be the military variant of the 'Greater White South Africa'. It is to be co-ordinated most closely with NATO and SEATO and is to embrace those areas which the White

> South African extremists would like to bring under 'white' domination—South and South-West Africa, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Basutoland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, as well as the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. One of the most active protagonists of this project is Friedrich Wilhelm von Mellenthin, a former Major-General in Hitler's Wermacht, who has stated that these States and areas are 'the only dependable allies on which the West can rely in case of emergency. South Africa, with its rich mineral resources, its rapidly developing industry and its agriculture, is an irreplaceable rear supply area; it offers the West splendid naval bases and harbours for the maintenance and protection of the sea route between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Consequently the West should not forget that the South African area . . . also in peace-time, needs not only understanding with regard to its special situation, but likewise the full moral and material support of the West' (pp. 70-71).

Support for 'SATO' has also been expressed by the West-German Generals Speidel and Heusinger who play a leading part in NATO.

A South African military mission visited Bonn in 1961 to discuss the purchase of arms in Western Germany, especially arms and chemicals for use against the people fighting to end the infamous apartheid policy.

Gunther Pruss, one of Hitler's gas-warfare specialists, has invented a pocket tear-gas cannister 'which can be bought by any white person for 8 Rand and is intended for use against Africans in any civil war situation' (p. 77).

The author quotes Professor L. J. le Roux, Vice-president of the South African Council of Research for Science and Industry, who said (November 6th, 1963):

> . . . the South African Military Research Council no longer regards chemical and biological warfare as impracticable. A special group of scientists has been studying such deadly gases as Tabun, Soman and Sarin which were developed in Nazi Germany. . . . These gases can be delivered in large amounts by aircraft or by rockets and can have an effect similar to the explosion of a 20 megaton atom bomb (p. 77).

Czaya points out that if experiments with these gases, which were developed by I. G. Farben, are being carried out in South Africa, then the Government must possess the patent rights—and must be using them.

Even more alarming is the statement made by this same professor about the establishment of a new Institute for Rocket Research near Pretoria in the work of which West German experts are also participating. According to *Neues Deutschland* of October 29th, 1963 (the daily paper of the Socialist Unity Party):

> Several West German firms, among them Bolkow of Stuttgart, (which specializes in the development of rockets and boosters) have been

> sending technicians and scientists to Pretoria for a considerable time in order to assist in the development of South African rockets. In addition talks about the use of suitable South African rural areas by Departments of the Bonn War Ministry also took place (p. 75).

Thus the 'partnership' provides possibilities for West German acquisition of 'know-how' and experiments in the development of nuclear weapons.

The attitude of the South African Government to nuclear war is expressed in the following government statement printed in the *South African Digest,* (September 1963): (translated from the original English by the author and re-translated again. J.C.):

> The existence of nuclear weapons and radio-active contamination resulting from the tests, dangerous though they may be for humanity, do not constitute such a concrete and actual danger to world peace, international co-operation and prosperity, as the continuation of ideological conflicts . . . and interference in the internal affairs of other countries in pursuit of ideological campaigns (p. 75).

No wonder that Bonn does everything possible to foster 'German-South African friendship' and 'joint cultural' enterprises and to act as one of the main propaganda agencies for the South African rulers. The author lists a whole series of organizations which have been established in Western Germany and of South African organizations, branches of which operate in Western Germany. All these are led by old German colonialists or ex-Nazis, and carry out the work of justification and 'explanation' of apartheid. For example, the 'German – South African Society' founded in Hitler's time in November 1933 and re-formed after the war with the help of a group of former Nazis and colonial propagandists in the service of the monopolists. The 'Society of Friends of Africa' founded in 1956. The South African Foundation, founded in Johannesburg in 1959, has its own bureau in Western Germany and issues its own press service there. The 'German-African Cultural Association', founded in 1954 aims especially at strengthening the links between the Germans living in South and South-West Africa and Bonn. Its real 'cultural' character and aims can be discerned from the fact that Hans van Rensburg, leader of the Fascist *Ossewa Brandwag* was made its Honorary President.

These organizations seek to secure 'understanding' for Verwoerd's South Africa by plugging the line that apartheid is saving South Africa and the African continent from 'Bolshevism'. Anti-Communist propaganda is utilized to the utmost to justify the brutal terror régime which exists in South Africa today and is linked by Bonn with cold-war propaganda in its most extreme form.

Holenbusch, one of the leaders of the German-African Society wrote an article entitled 'Mistaken Views about Apartheid' in which he said:

> Apartheid creates order. Renunciation of this policy will signify catastrophe for South Africa and thereby for the whole continent. Its consequence would be the expulsion of the white man, in whose footsteps the red flood of Communism would overwhelm the whole of Africa. . . . (p. 130).

The 'German-Afrikaans Cultural Association' prints 'Open Letters' in vast quantities and sends them all over Europe. The recipients are asked to help to see that 'South and South-West Africa remain bulwarks of the West'. One of these letters contain the following:—

> Certain circles, likewise in your country, are assisting in the Bolshevik incitement against South Africa. In so doing they are overlooking the fact that South Africa, along with South-West Africa, are the only real dependable allies of the West in the whole of Africa. All other African States have less firm ties with the West, are openly purchasable, or are already pro-Bolshevik. Only White South Africa and South-West Africa can never be bought by the Bolsheviks (p. 144).

Goebbelsian Masterpiece

Some insight into the methods used by and the purposes of, German – South African cultural exchanges, is revealed by the following. In June 1960 a group of 'German Folk Artists' toured South Africa. One of the leaders of this group, a man named Stahl, issued a 'press statement' on his return, which was sent to editors of newspapers in Western Germany and in South Africa. It was headed—'A German's Observations on a Visit to South Africa'. This statement contained such masterpieces of Goebbelsian invention as 'The coloured people are happy under the present régime'. The demonstrations in Sharpeville and other places took place 'on the orders of Moscow' and if anyone was hurt or killed it was really their own fault.

> On our visit to Sharpeville we met only friendly and happy natives. Their houses contained valuable furniture and were equipped with modern conveniences. We encountered no bitter feeling against white people. Expensive American cars were to be seen everywhere. No wonder that people are so happy here. Many Europeans can only envy them their fine houses and possessions (p. 186). (This quotation from the press statement is taken by the author from the West German Socialist paper *Vorwarts* of July 15th, 1960.)

These organizations, the propaganda and 'culture' which they dispense, together with all kinds of other clubs—German-Boer clubs and associations, organizations of Germans living in South Africa, plus the activity of ex-Nazis and all kinds of representatives of industrial firms, are not only key propaganda weapons for 'white South Africa'. They are the main avenues for the political and economic penetration of South Africa by present-day German imperialism.

The book also contains a most interesting chapter dealing with the efforts made to use even the churches and religion for these purposes.

The last chapter is entitled 'The Dilemma of German Colonial Policy'. This is the one referred to earlier, namely the contradiction between open 'partnership' with Verwoerd and the attempt to secure greater influence amongst the newly developing African States. Or, put another way, the contradiction between a policy of 'going it alone' in alliance with the South African 'Ultras', or pursuing a more subtle policy of 'collective neo-colonialism' along with the American, French and British monopolies. Signs are not lacking that there are some in such circles who fear the consequences of the present brutal policy although of course they are absolutely in favour of white domination. They would prefer a more accommodating sort of rule, maybe some slight concessions to the majority. Further, the author shows that amongst Germans living in South Africa, especially those living in South-West Africa, there is a similar development. Signs of opposition to the Verwoerd policy are to be seen there, expressed in the formation in 1961 of the South-West Party, a party of 'Liberal' opposition, led by a former National Party M.P., Japie Basson.

In the District elections in South-West Africa in March 1961, a group of German farmers issued an open call for a new policy on the racial question. This stated (amongst other things)—'Many of us have put our faith in the National Party for twelve years. If we now seek to draw a balance regarding all questions concerning our future then we can see that we are faced with chaos. . . . We are an area which has an international character and the extreme apartheid policy of the National Party has shaken us internally and externally. Today we Whites stand in serious danger and those of a different colour feel themselves kept down. Consequently trade and industry are being retarded. Fear is hindering capital investment. Our development is coming to a stop. It is extraordinarily important that there is a stronger opposition in the coming District Council than there has been in the past' (p. 232).

These contradictions are a sign of the times and of the effectiveness of the struggle being waged by the opponents of apartheid in South Africa, above all by the non-white majority.

As far as Western Germany is concerned the opposed policies will have to be fought out by the different trends in the ruling monopoly groupings. They cannot both be conducted simultaneously over a long period. As far as South Africa is concerned, no 'opposition' policy which seeks to retain White domination by some concessions, some accommodation, more 'humane' methods, can solve the problem.

As the programme of the South African Communist Party puts it:

> Nor can it (the deep-rooted crisis in South Africa) be resolved by a mere change of Government to another section of the White ruling class which would make superficial concessions while leaving the essence of the colonial system and monopoly control intact. The crisis springs from the fundamental contradictions of South African society. . . .
> This crisis can only be resolved by a revolutionary change in the social system which will overcome these conflicts by putting an end to the colonial oppression of the African and other non-White people (Programme: Section V).

A valuable and most informative table of statistics relating to all aspects of South African life—population, numbers employed in different branches of industry, wage rates, the distribution of the national income, production in the different branches of industry, statistics with regard to imports and exports, the foreign capital investments—completes a most useful book.

JACK COHEN

Ruth First's 117 Days

117 Days, by Ruth First

Penguin Books, London, 3s. 6d.

THE ENACTMENT of the ninety-day detention clause of the General Laws Amendment Act in 1963 was deliberately intended by the Minister of Justice, Mr. B. J. Vorster, to enable the Special Branch of the Police to go in for the systematic mind-breaking of political prisoners.

'It is not a very nice thing to see a human being broken. I have seen it. . . . The man taking these powers must take the responsibility for them', said Vorster during the debate on the Bill in Parliament.

Prisoners were held in solitary confinement, without access to family, friends or lawyers, unable to write or receive letters, deprived of any access to the courts. For some, such as Beyleveld and Leftwich, a short period of solitary confinement was enough to produce demoralization and defeat. They poured out their hearts to the police and gave evidence in court, helping to send their former comrades to jail for long periods of imprisonment. Others were subjected to barbaric tortures — electric shock treatment, suffocation with plastic bags, beatings and kickings, the notorious 'statue' torture. Three detainees were either murdered or driven to suicide during their detention. Many others lost their reason and had to be treated in mental hospitals.

For all these bestial crimes, Vorster will bear responsibility at the bar of history. He knew what he was doing when he passed the ninety-day law, he knew what was being done to prisoners while the law was in force, yet he never expressed a moment's hesitation or regret. In his eyes White Supremacy was at stake, and no means were to be spared to ensure its survival.

Altogether 1,095 people were detained under the ninety-day clause during the eighteen months it was in operation, according to information supplied to Parliament by Vorster on January 29th, 1965 (the law had been suspended on January 15th). Of this number only 575 were eventually brought to trial, the majority charged with sabotage or furthering the aims of a banned organisation. Less than half of the accused, 272, were convicted, 210 were discharged and ninety-three were still on trial or awaiting trial at the time Vorster made his statement. A total of 241 detainees gave evidence for the State in criminal proceedings.

Commenting on the value of ninety-day detention, the Commissioner of Police, Lt.-Gen. Keevy, told the Press: 'Ninety-day detention was the only effective weapon the police had to avert a state of revolution in South Africa. . . . It was devised as a last resort because of the severe restrictions placed on the police by Judges' Rules and the Criminal Procedure Act. We asked for these powers because we were handicapped in our methods of investigation. . . . I have no doubt in my mind that the ninety-day clause was the only solution to a very sticky problem.'

The insidious effects of ninety-day detention, even where no physical torture was employed, are graphically described by Ruth First in her book *117 Days* recently published by Penguin Books. Here is an account of the process of mind-breaking in operation written by one who has endured and survived it, though not without suffering its most extreme torments and being brought to the brink of despair.

Ruth First was no pushover like Beyleveld or Leftwich. Tough-minded, self-controlled and determined, she sailed through the early days of her incarceration with contempt for her captors and supreme conviction in the justice of her cause. The mixture of abuse, guile and persuasion used by her interrogators to get her to make a statement was completely ineffective. She wasn't talking, and she adapted herself to her solitary condition with stoic fortitude.

How was it, then, that before the 117 days were up she, too, had started to make a statement and been reduced to a state of desperation in which she even attempted suicide? Miss First has written her book almost as an act of confession to explain to herself and to the world exactly what happened. She has bared her soul for scrutiny, and her courage and honesty have combined to produce a document which convinces by its sincerity. Some will feel she has been too calm and detached in dealing with an experience which must have been shattering and traumatic; but perhaps the very discipline and restraint of her writing are the qualities which have dispelled scepticism and won immediate acceptance of her account from the critics.

The viciousness of solitary confinement is that it turns the prisoner into his own inquisitor. Confrontation with the enemy, interrogation, the conflict and clash of argument, even torture, all provide a point of orientation for the prisoner, a focus of attention which enables the mind to rally and resist. It is in the isolation of the cell, withdrawn from all human contact, that the mind begins to wander, the boundaries of consciousness become indistinct, the real and the unreal begin to merge, the doubts and uncertainties begin to creep in. As time passed, Ruth First found the strain increasingly hard to bear. Worst of all was the uncertainty. Was she going to be tried? What did they know about her? How much had B. given away in his statement? What was happening outside, to her children, to her comrades? How long could she go on living like this? Would she ever be released? One can adapt to the known, however bad it is; but how can one adapt to what is always uncertain?

The climax for Ruth First came on her release at the end of her first period of ninety days and immediate re-arrest by Special Branch men on the pavement outside the jail. After that, she writes, 'I could not stand the suspense any longer; I felt an irresistible urge to act, to lose no more time, to make some move to force a counter-move from the Security Branch. I felt that I would crumble if I stayed still any longer. I had to make some exploratory move, some searchings. . . . I was still stubbornly uncontrite but now my impatience was stretched to the point of snap. I could no longer bear to sit and wait while events moved around me; I had to provoke them. I would begin to show some interest in questioning. To find out what they knew, I told myself. To offer them the smallest crumb of useless information as a catalyst.'

She started to make a statement, telling them information which they knew already, or which involved people either safely out of the country or beyond saving because they had already been caught and imprisoned and informed upon. 'The police knew quite a lot about me; I might placate them with some more information that could not take them any further.'

She realized, once the first session of questioning had come to an end, that she had made a mistake, that she had fallen into the trap which ninety-day detention sets for every detainee. However harmless her statement, it could help the Security Branch. They could use it to undermine others in detention, saying 'Look, Ruth First has made a statement, why not you?' As she mulled all this over in her mind, she became increasingly unable to justify herself. 'I knew so clearly that I should make no statement. I could not understand — and I was too desolate to try — how I had allowed myself to think otherwise, even in a wild gamble for information and relief from solitariness. That was all I thought the entire night: literally two words "No Statement, No Statement" over and over again in my mind.'

She decided to say nothing more, but it didn't help. Her feeling of guilt deepened. She could not sleep at nights and had to be given pills. 'I had reeled back from a precipice of collapse but I felt worse than ever. I was persecuted by the dishonour of having made a statement, even the start of a statement . . . . they (the Special Branch) would break me finally with some carefully introduced indication that my friends had abandoned me because I had betrayed them. . . . This abandonment I would not be able to face. . . . There was only one way out before I drove myself mad.' She tried to commit suicide by swallowing all the sleeping pills. But foreseeing this possibility the doctor had given her less than a fatal quantity.

Ruth First eventually recovered her grip on herself. 'At last I permitted myself my first scent of victory. I determined to shake off the all-devouring sense of guilt at my lapse. I had been reeling towards a precipice and I had stopped myself at the edge. It had *not* been too late to beat them back. I had undermined my own resistance, yet I had not after all succumbed. In the depth of my agony I had *won*.'

She was released after 117 days.

If there is a moral to her story, it is to repeat, as she did over and over again: 'No statement, No statement.' It was not the police who almost overcame her resistance; it was her own decision to start making a statement. She stopped herself in time. Many of her fellow victims did not stop, became more and more enmeshed in the contradictions of their contrived stories, were confronted by the police with the statements of other detainees, felt themselves driven into a corner, trapped, defenceless, and eventually abandoned all subterfuge and told all they knew. Those who survived best were the detainees who never lost their determination not to make a statement, who made up their minds to hold out, come what may, who never ceased to regard the Special Branch as enemies with whom there could be no compromise, who resigned themselves to accept whatever the consequences might be, even if it were detention in solitary confinement for life, prosecution or, at worst, death. For everyone, the Special Branch told Ruth First, there is a cracking point. But it is also clear that those crack last who concede least.

It is the more important for all political fighters in South Africa to learn these lessons because, though ninety-day detention was lifted on January 15, 1965, it was brought back again by an amendment to the Criminal Procedure Act passed during the 1965 session of Parliament. Only this time it is 180 days. Detainees are called 'State witnesses' in the new law, but otherwise the provisions are much the same. If the Attorney-General is of the opinion that there is any danger of tampering with, or intimidation of, any person likely to give material evidence for the State in any criminal proceedings, or that any such person may abscond, or whenever he deems it to be in the interests of such person, or of the administration of justice, he may issue a warrant for the arrest and detention of such person. Any person so arrested may be detained for the duration of the criminal proceedings or for a period of six months, whichever is the shorter period. No person other than an officer in the service of the State shall have access to a detained witness except with the consent of the Attorney-General, and no court shall have jurisdiction to order the release from custody of any person so detained.

Unlike the ninety-day law, which had to be renewed annually, this is now a permanent provision of South African law. Any person who undertakes political resistance against the Nationalist regime from now on must reckon on the possibility of being dragged in for 180 days. A close reading of Ruth First's book cannot but help all freedom fighters to be more adequately armed for the struggle.

PETER MACKINTOSH

La Guma's Splendid Realism

And a Threefold Cord, by Alex La Guma

Seven Seas Books, Berlin (3s. 6d. from Collet's, England)

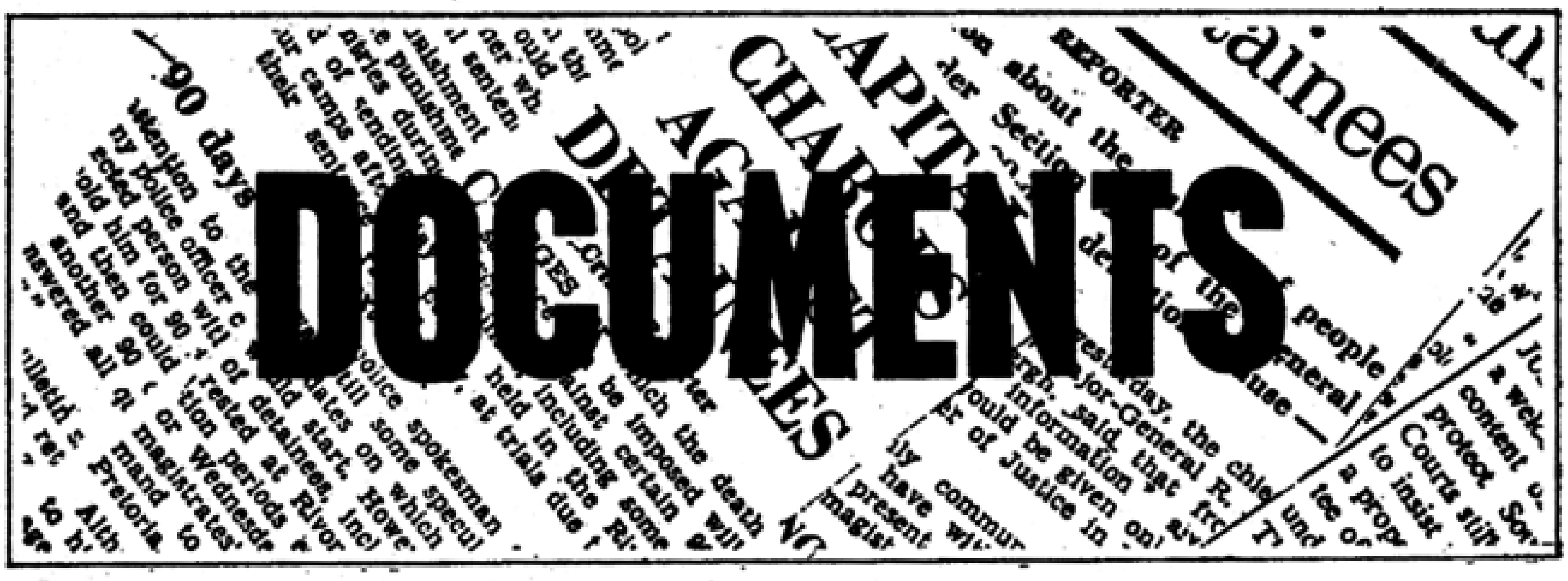
It is impossible to separate this book from the conditions of life of its author, Alex La Guma, under twenty-four-hour house arrest in Cape Town, prohibited from having any visitors, and under a blanket-ban of silence that prohibits anything he writes or says from being reproduced in any form in South Africa. He is one of the very few people placed under such conditions of house arrest who has managed to work out for himself some way of living, enduring, and keeping sanity. With only one or two exceptions, those placed under such restrictions have fled South Africa, in most cases because they could no longer earn a living, coupled with the personal miseries of such a life.

How extraordinary, then, is the spirit that emerges from this book. Knowing Alex La Guma, it is almost like seeing him and hearing him talk: an aware, but gay, human personality speaks from the pages of the book.

The book is scarcely a novel. There is really no plot, and viewed as a novel it is flimsy, without sufficient substance. It is more a series of pen-sketches of the life of the Coloured people of the Cape Flats. Alex La Guma has a good eye for the conditions he knows so intimately, and an even better ear. I think Chapter 17, only two and a half pages long is a perfect gem of writing; the conversation round the water-tap caught and recorded with absolute realism and humour, is also, in so few words, a complete revelation of the lives of the poor.

And A Threefold Cord is about the people of the Cape, and their everyday lives; an old man dies; a frustrated youth knifes a woman; a baby is born during a police-raid; a shack burns with its two small inmates. There is no smooth answer to peoples' problems, and no rosily-hopeful future. Yet somehow there emerges a feeling of hope and optimism, for the splendid realism of the writing captures and records the true spirit of man.

F. AZAD



DOCUMENTS

RALLY AND UNITE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

An Appeal from the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party

I.

THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM have launched a world-wide offensive against the peoples of the world striving for national liberation, independence, democracy and peace. The imperialists are continually committing fresh acts of aggression and spreading the area of warfare. They are sabotaging the United Nations and employing every form of pressure, military, political and economic, to check the course of progress and re-establish colonialism.

United States imperialism is at war with the whole people of Vietnam, both south and north of the military demarcation line. Desperate at the victories of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, which enjoys mass support and has already liberated four-fifths of the country, the Americans are pouring in more troops and military supplies to sustain their puppet régime in Saigon. They have resorted to heavy and continuous air raids on the territory and people of the democratic Republic of Vietnam. These gangster acts of aggression, with their callous use of weapons of indiscriminate mass slaughter, are in defiance of the U.N. Charter, the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, and every principle of international law and conduct. They have already cost a heavy toll in the lives and homes of the people of Vietnam; they threaten to widen the area of war in South-East Asia and elsewhere.

U.S. Marines have invaded the Dominican Republic and are fighting to preserve a hated military dictatorship which has been overthrown by the people, and to frustrate their determination to establish a popular, democratic government.

British imperialism is intervening in South-East Asia to help impose the artificial state of 'Malaysia'. In Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, the Labour government is continuing the colonialist policies of the Tories.

Throughout Africa the imperialist powers are conducting an all-out counter-offensive against the African Revolution. They have committed open aggression in support of the neo-colonialist Tshombe régime in the Congo. They are stopping at nothing in their efforts to disrupt the Organization of African Unity and to reassert political and economic domination in Africa. Corruption, intrigues and even assassination in the independent states are accompanied by support for Portuguese fascist colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and 'Portuguese' Guinea, and for the white terrorist dictatorships in Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa.

These anti-African régimes are able to survive only because of the continued military, financial and political backing of the imperialist powers, concerned only to maintain their big profits from the exploitation of African labour and resources.

The counter - revolutionary offensive of the imperialists contains grave dangers to all the peoples of the world. In resorting to force to prevent further social change and to defend the remaining bastions of capitalism and colonialism, the imperialists threaten to precipitate a nuclear war which would be a calamity for human life and civilization, endangering even the survival of mankind.

The forces opposing imperialism are, together, far greater than those controlled by the imperialists. The anti-imperialist forces are, principally, the governments and peoples of the socialist countries; the peoples of the newly-independent countries and the countries still struggling for national liberation and independence; the working-class, progressive and peace-loving masses and their organizations in the capitalist countries and throughout the world.

Division and disunity among these forces plays into the hands of the imperialist enemy. They give the enemy opportunities to embark on fresh advances in all fields, to delay the people's advance to national freedom and socialism, and to threaten the world with war. Disunity in the ranks of the anti-imperialists prolongs the sufferings and sacrifices of the heroic people of Vietnam and all victims of imperialist aggression and oppression. It delays the liberation of the people of our own country, enduring the tyranny and degradation of apartheid.

We call upon all the anti-imperialist forces of the world to unite; to rebuff all imperialist adventures and assert the people's will for freedom, independence and peace; to take fresh initiatives for human progress.

II.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, having considered the statement issued by the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which took place in March this year, declares its support for a new international meeting of the Marxist-Leninist Parties at the earliest possible opportunity. The statement properly emphasized the common factors which bind all Communists rather than the temporary divisions which have arisen.

Everywhere, the Communist movement is the fighting vanguard of the working class and of all who strive for national liberation, socialism and peace. Unity within the ranks of the Communists would be a powerful factor in rallying and uniting all the world's progressive anti-imperialist forces.

Even if discords had not arisen in our world Communist movement, the development of historical events since the meeting of 1960 has uncovered new problems and situations which urgently demand that we meet again and consult one another.

The primary purpose of such a meeting should not be to retrace the past, to apportion blame or to adjudicate ideological disputes. It should be, in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, to discuss new and fundamental problems facing the international communist, labour, national liberation and peace movements. It should be to evolve paths of action to overcome the threat of imperialism and war, and to advance to fresh victories for the people.

Every effort should be made to ensure that such a meeting is fully representative of the Communist movement as a whole. We appeal sincerely to all our fraternal Parties not to allow questions of formal procedure or prestige to stand in the way of our coming together. At the same time, unwillingness or refusal of any section of the movement, however important, to join in consultations should not be allowed to prevent those who are willing to meet together from doing so. Short of unanimity, which remains our constant goal, we must secure the greatest measure of unity and joint action which is possible; otherwise we condemn our Communist movement to paralysis and inaction in the face of an all-out attack by the imperialist enemy.

Immediately, the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party makes a renewed and urgent appeal for common action of all Marxist-Leninist Parties. We call for the complete cessation of uncomradely and exaggerated polemics. We call for a halt in the tendency to turn international meetings of various kinds into forums for debating differences between Communists. We appeal for an end to any sort of activities of a factional character, or intervention by any Party in the internal affairs of another. All such manifestations of disunity in our ranks do not only weaken and diminish our great movement, which has been built up at the cost of such devotion, heroism and sacrifice to be the shield of the people and the hope of all working and oppressed people. They also cause disarray and confusion in the ranks of the whole anti-imperialist front. They lead to mutual suspicion among comrades and colleagues, and open the door to adventurers and enemy agents who play upon our differences, at a time when the need is greatest for comradeship, confidence and brotherhood in the ranks of the fighters against imperialism.

III.

WE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS are engaged in a relentless revolutionary struggle for the liberation of our people from white minority domination, the vicious South African form of colonialism. Thousands of the finest sons and daughters of our people have been imprisoned, tortured and murdered by the Verwoerd régime, which has imposed fascist laws and a reign of terror to crush the resistance of the African majority, the non-white population and all democrats. These methods have not succeeded and cannot succeed in breaking our people's will for freedom; their determination to unite all patriotic and democratic forces, Communist and non-Communist; to strengthen all organs of resistance with heightened revolutionary vigilance; to strike back at the oppressor by all methods of struggle, including forceful retaliation against violence.

Our country has become a crucial battlefield in the international struggle between the forces of imperialism and reaction and those of progress and humanity. Our people are deeply conscious of and grateful for the many acts of solidarity with our people from our brothers and sisters in Africa and all over the world; we appeal once again for yet more effective measures to isolate, boycott and expose apartheid: enemy of mankind. We know full well that the apartheid régime rests on the continued backing of international imperialism.

Our main contribution to the cause of freedom and peace throughout the world will be to intensify and make more effective our struggle for a free South Africa which will be a powerful factor for progress everywhere.

At the same time we are ever conscious of our duty to advance working class internationalism, which is a basic principle of our Party. We shall do everything in our power to advance anti-imperialist unity in Africa and throughout the world. We shall make whatever contribution we can to strengthen and unite the great liberating army of which we are a part, our glorious international Communist movement.

Forward to unity of all Communists, and of all fighters against imperialism!

Forward to liberation of all peoples, to peace, democracy and socialism!

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